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SOCRATES SCHOLASTICUS ON JULIAN THE APOSTATE

Socrates Scholasticus (c. 380-450) ([1]) devotes twenty-three of the twenty-six chapters of Book III of his *Historia Ecclesiastica* to the reign of Julian the Apostate, and his treatment of the last pagan emperor is remarkable in several ways ([2]). Not only does Socrates write more about Julian than any Church Historian apart from Sozomen, but he treats Julian more fully than other emperors. Indeed, Socrates takes a greater interest in Julian's biography and psychology than he does in any one except John Chrysostom. Moreover, although Socrates uses Christian authors like Rufinus and Gregory of Nazianzus, his principal source for Julian is Libanius' laudatory funeral oration, the *Epitaphios* ([3]). Hence it is not surprising to find that some contemporary scholars consider Socrates' account of Julian to be less negative than those of his fellow Church Historians ([4]). Nevertheless, it would be wrong to assume that Socrates in any way approves of Julian, for the following detailed examination of the *Historia Ecclesiastica* ([5]) will reveal that Socrates thoroughly and consistently condemns both Julian's character and his actions.

Although Socrates first mentions Julian by name in his account of Constantius' death at the end of Book II (II, 47), his treatment of the Apostate really begins in the first chapter of Book III with the neutral, matter-of-fact statement that Julian was proclaimed emperor at Constantinople (III, 1, 2). Here, Socrates is typically precise about dating, for he records that Constantius died on 3 November and that Julian left

(1) *The Oxford Dictionary of the Christian Church*, ed. F. L. CROSS and E. A. LIVINGSTONE (1997), s.v. SOCRATES, p. 1513.

(2) M. WALLRAFF, *Der Kirchenhistoriker Sokrates*, Göttingen, 1997, pp. 100-102.

(3) *Ibid.*, p. 101.

(4) I. KRIVOUCHINE, *L'empereur païen vu par l'historien ecclésiastique : Julian l'Apostat de Socrate*, in *JÖB*, 47 (1997), pp. 14-15. Theresa URBAINCZYK, *Socrates of Constantinople*, Ann Arbor, 1997, pp. 30-31. WALLRAFF, p. 102.

(5) G. C. HANSEN, *Sokrates Kirchengeschichte*, Berlin, 1995.

the West on 11 December. He then justifies his eschewing the elegant style which his subject matter might seem to require on the grounds that the plain style is more suitable for a Christian history (III,1,4). Socrates thus announces to his readers that he has not been seduced by Julian's own literary attainments, nor his history corrupted by them.

The first characterization of Julian is that he was an *ἐλλογίμου ἀνδρός* (III, 1, 3). Of the two possible meanings of *ἐλλογίμου*, "in high repute" or "eloquent" (6), the latter is more likely given Socrates' unfavourable opinion of Julian and the contrast with his own choice of the plain style. The whole phrase actually anticipates the conclusion to Socrates' account of Julian where he not only declares that Julian's learning was mere vanity (III, 21, 16), but also condemns Libanius for speaking of Julian as if he were divine and not just a man (III, 23, 40-44).

Socrates then concludes the introduction to his first chapter by saying that he will describe Julian's descent, education and how he came to be emperor (7). His dependence upon Libanius is immediately clear, because the story of how Gallus and Julian survived the massacre of 337 (III, 1, 8) derives from *Or.*18, 10. Although Socrates does not quote Libanius exactly, his *νόσος ... ἐρρύσαιο* echoes Libanius' *νόσου ῥυσαμένης*. However, Socrates had access to more information than appears in Libanius, for he states that Julian was eight years old, while Libanius says only that he had just been weaned. Indeed, Socrates may have possessed an annotated edition of Libanius' speeches because he frequently replaces Libanius' rhetorical elegances and periphrases with precise details (8).

Socrates bases his account of Julian's early education on the very next chapter of the *Epitaphios* (*Or.* 18, 11), although he substitutes Constantinople for Libanius' paraphrastic description of the city where he went to school, and identifies Julian's attendant eunuch as Mardonius. These changes are neutral as far as Julian is concerned. Not so is his removal of Libanius' invidious comparison of Julian and his brother, Gallus, the effect of which is to diminish Julian and to rehabilitate the Christian Gallus whom the sources usually portray as a brute (9). Where Libanius

(6) *A Greek-English Lexicon,* ed. H. G. LIDDELL, R. SCOTT, H. S. JONES, Oxford, 1966, s.v. *ἐλλόγιμος*.

(7) WALLRAFF, p. 87 and n. 288 ; KRIVOUCHINE, p. 19.

(8) HANSEN, p. LII.

(9) Even Julian recognized Gallus' faults : *Letter to the Senate and People of Athens,* 271 D, in *The Works of the Emperor Julian*, vol. II, ed. W. C. WRIGHT, London, 1969, p. 250.

contrasts Gallus' lack of interest in intellectual matters with Julian's love of learning, Socrates says that Gallus went to the schools at Ephesus.

Socrates continues to use Libanius for his account of Julian's rhetorical education (III, 1, 11-15 and *Or.* 18, 12-15), but the two narratives are not identical. Libanius mentions only one teacher, condemns him, and does not give his name. Socrates says that Julian was taught grammar by Nicocles and rhetoric by Hecebolius, and does not comment on their professional competence. More important is how Socrates lays the groundwork for his version of Julian's usurpation of the throne when he states that Julian's literary abilities were so great that he began to be considered capable of ruling the empire. Worried by this, Constantius removed Julian from Constantinople to Nicomedia. Libanius, however, says only that Constantius feared that Constantinople would be attracted to Julian (*Or.* 18, 13), and thus implies that Julian was not an actual threat to the emperor. It is clear that Socrates has adjusted Libanius' account in order to give the impression that Julian was a real danger to Constantius. This difference in perspective is what would be expected, given that, in general, Christian sources portray Julian as an active participant in his own rise to Augustus, pagan sources as a passive one ([10]).

In the next section (III, 1, 16-21), Socrates closely follows Libanius' account about how Julian converted to paganism, but still pretended to be Christian. However, Socrates' version is deliberately less favourable to Julian. Libanius credits unnamed Platonists with Julian's conversion, while Socrates ascribes it to Maximus of Ephesus. Socrates carefully distinguishes Maximus of Ephesus from Maximus of Byzantium ([11]), and identifies him, pejoratively, as the philosopher who was executed by Valentinian for magic. Given the care with which he differentiates the two Maximi, it is curious that he wrongly attributes the execution to Valentinian rather than to Valens ([12]). Socrates emphasizes Julian's desire to rule the empire by stating that Maximus of Ephesus gave him this ambition at the time of his conversion. He also writes that Julian prophesied to his friends that he would soon rule the empire, whereas Libanius says that right thinking men prayed that Julian would become emperor

(10) D. F. BUCK, *Eunapius on Julian's Acclamation as Augustus*, in *Ancient History Bulletin*, 7 (1993), pp. 73-80.

(11) *The Prosopography of the Later Roman Empire*, vol. I, ed. A. H. M. JONES, J. R. MARTINDALE, J. MORRIS, Cambridge, 1971, s.v. MAXIMUS 22.

(12) *Ibid.*, s.v. MAXIMUS OF EPHESUS 21.

and save the empire from Christianity (*Or.* 18, 21). By transferring the desire for empire from his friends to Julian himself, Socrates converts Libanius' passive Julian into an actively ambitious prince.

Libanius records that, after Gallus was executed, Julian was placed under guard and moved from place to place until he was finally allowed to stay in Athens, thanks to the intervention of Constantius' wife, Eusebia (*Or.* 18, 24-27). Although Socrates repeats the basic facts (III, 1, 23-24), he misinterprets them by portraying Julian as a fugitive in hiding (κρυπτόμενον) who was discovered by Eusebia. Whether or not this error was deliberate, it does result in a less dignified and less sympathetic picture of Julian than is drawn by Libanius. It is more significant that Socrates skips over Libanius' laudatory description of Julian as a student in Athens (*Or.* 18, 29-30), and proceeds directly to Constantius' sending him as Caesar to Gaul (III, 1, 25). Thus Socrates leaves himself free to quote Gregory of Nazianzus' scathing description of Julian at Athens in the conclusion to his treatment of the Apostate. On the other hand, Socrates' mistake in naming Julian's wife Constantia instead of Helena appears innocent. The source of Socrates' error remains undetected, but he shares it with Sozomen and the *Liber Pontificalis* ([13]). Libanius himself says nothing about Julian's marriage.

The garland incident (III, 1, 29) is a good example of Socrates' tendentious writing. Although Socrates identifies his source only as the close verbal similarities prove that he is using Libanius (*Or.* 18, 41) ([14]). In the *Epitaphios*, a decorative garland falls onto Julian's head in the first town which he enters in Gaul. Libanius interprets this event as an omen that Julian will be a victorious commander. Socrates displaces the incident by relating it after Julian's initial military successes and thus he is able to make it into an omen that Julian will become emperor.

Libanius imputes two conflicting motives to Constantius when he relates Julian's appointment as Caesar in Gaul (*Or.* 18, 36). Torn between his envy of Julian and his desire to recover Gaul, Constantius is said to have wanted Julian both to defeat the enemy and to be defeated by them. Socrates places his version much later in his narrative, i.e. after the garland incident, and reports only a statement that Constantius sent Julian

(13) *Ibid.*, s.v. HELENA 2.

(14) Cf. LIBANIUS, *Or.* XVIII, 41 : πολίχνιον and SOCRATES, III,1,29 : πολιχνίων.

Cf. LIBANIUS *Or.* XVIII, 41 : βοὴ and SOCRATES, III,1,29 : ἀναβοῆσαι. LIBANIUS and SOCRATES both write ἐκ καλωδίων and τῇ κεφαλῇ ... ἥρμοσε (ν).

to Gaul to be destroyed (III, 1, 30-31). He attributes this accusation to unnamed sources of dubious credibility and then argues that it was unlikely that Constantius would have married his sister to Julian if he had intended for him to perish in Gaul. The effect of Socrates' partial use of Libanius is to prevent sympathy and justification for Julian's revolt against Constantius, and to prepare for his depiction of Julian as an ingrate.

Socrates constructs his account of Julian's acclamation as Augustus in such a way as to condemn Julian for revolting against Constantius (III, 1, 34-38). As he did in Book II, 47, Socrates gives the impression that Julian was acclaimed immediately after the Battle of Strasburg, rather than later at Paris (*Or.* 18, 97-99). By thus omitting the material in some thirty chapters of the *Epitaphios*, he is able to ignore both Julian's successful military operations between the Battle of Strasburg and the events in Paris, and, more significantly, Constantius' demand for troops to be sent to the East which prompted the Gallic army to revolt ([15]). Socrates says nothing of Julian's reluctance to accept the throne or how he was compelled to accede to the demands of his soldiers, as is recorded by both Libanius (*Or.* 18, 98-99) and Ammianus (XX, 4, 14-17), and describes in detail only Julian's actual crowning (III, 1, 35). Libanius affirms Julian's reluctance by relating that, when Julian refused to accept a diadem on constitutional grounds, a soldier placed his own torque on Julian's head (*Or.* 18, 99). Socrates, however, states that a soldier used his torque because no diadem was available, not because of Julian's unwillingness. There are also differences in vocabulary between Libanius and Socrates, for the former uses the words *ταινίαν* and *στρεπτὸν*, while the latter has *στέφανος* and *περιτραχήλιον*. Socrates is, in fact, quite close to Ammianus who writes that a soldier used his torque when Julian said that he did not have a diadem (XX, 4, 17-18). Indeed, Socrates is sufficiently different from Libanius to conclude that either Socrates is using another source at this point ([16]), or he has fundamentally altered Libanius' account in order to denigrate Julian.

At this point, Socrates opens up one of his main avenues of attack on Julian, i.e. that he was not a true philosopher ([17]). He invites his readers to consider whether or not Julian conducted himself towards Constantius as

(15) Cf. AMMIANUS, XX,4,10.
(16) *Pace* HANSEN, p. 190.
(17) Cf. URBAINCZYK, pp. 157-158.

a philosopher would have after his acclamation, and then gives a version of events designed to elicit a negative response (III, 1, 36-38). For example, he impugns Julian as a philosopher when he notes the amount of blood that would have been spilled in civil war had Constantius not first died (III, 1, 40). Socrates also criticizes Julian for appointing his own governors and for revealing the contents of Constantius' letters to the barbarians, both of which deeds he found in the *Epitaphios* (*Or.* 18, 104 and 113, respectively), and for not being grateful to Constantius for past favours. Furthermore, Socrates claims that Julian did not send embassies to Constantius after his acclamation despite the fact that not only Libanius (*Or.* 18, 106), but also Ammianus (XX, 8-9) and Zosimus (III, 9) record that Julian sent conciliatory embassies to Constantius. If Socrates had given a full account of Julian's actions in Gaul, he would have found it more difficult to convict Julian of ingratitude.

Since Socrates is more concerned with "why" than with "what", he does not attempt a detailed reconstruction of Julian's programme as emperor, but rather he imputes motive to Julian and provides a rationale for his actions (III, 1, 43ff.). Thus Socrates says that, once Julian entered Constantinople, he considered how he might manage the people and win their favour (III, 1, 43), and so he exploited the resentment felt against Constantius by both orthodox Christians and pagans. Hence Julian recalled exiled bishops, restored pagan temples and returned the ill-gotten gains of the eunuchs to their rightful owners (III, 1, 44-48). This section is clearly Socrates' own composition, for, even though the story of the execution of the eunuch Eusebius may derive from Libanius (*Or.* 18, 152), it is displaced from its context in the *Epitaphios* and inserted into the account of Julian's general attack on the palace eunuchs.

One section (III, 1, 50-52) relates how Julian expelled the barbers, cooks and eunuchs from the palace and dismissed the majority of the secretaries. Here, Socrates is briefly summarizing Libanius ([18]), although his remark that Julian had no need for eunuchs because his wife was dead appears to be his own contribution and another example of his preoccupation with giving reasons for why events happen. Socrates ends this summary by describing Julian's reform of the *cursus publicus*. Here he makes a curious error in saying that Julian forbade the use of mules and asses and allowed only horses. Although Libanius devotes most of his version to the suffering of the mules which were over-worked and starved

(18) See HANSEN, p. 192.

(*Or.* 18, 143-145), there is nothing in his account which can explain Socrates' mistake.

More interesting than this misinformation is the way in which Socrates accuses Julian's reforms of diminishing the dignity of the imperial office (III, 1, 53). Since these measures were religiously neutral, this criticism is strong evidence that Socrates was thoroughly ill-disposed towards Julian. His rhetorical and prejudicial statement that a few praised Julian's reforms, but that the majority decried them is not borne out by the surviving sources. Socrates is, in fact, the only extant source which criticizes them ([19]). Ammianus, for example, does not disapprove of Julian's administrative changes, but, rather, finds fault with his undignified personal interactions ([20]). Thus he remarks unfavourably on Julian's greeting of the philosopher Maximus (XXII, 7, 3), his deference to the consuls (XXII, 7, 1) and his talkativeness (XXV, 4, 17).

Socrates then notes that Julian used to spend the night composing speeches which he delivered in the Senate (III, 1, 54). This information derives from Libanius (*Or.* 18, 154 and 157), but not the incorrect statement that Julian was the first emperor since Julius Caesar to make speeches in the Senate. Libanius does say that it was a long time (*πολὺν δὴ χρόνον*) (*Or.* 18, 154) since this had happened because the emperor had not been adept at public speaking, but it is clear that he refers to the reign of Constantius. Here is not only further evidence of how Socrates substitutes concrete language for Libanius' rhetorical and indefinite expressions, but also a warning that, despite his professed plain style, Socrates can be more concerned with effect than with fact, and that he can be more precise than truthful.

The first chapter concludes with a fundamental attack on Julian. Socrates maintains that a person cannot, at the same time, be both a good emperor and a good philosopher, and that Julian was neither (III, 1, 55-59). Thus dismissing the cooks and eunuchs was an action befitting a philosopher, not an emperor, and it is unbecoming for either philosopher or emperor to ridicule and caricature, as Julian did in the *Caesares* — a point to which Socrates returns at the end of his treatment of the Apostate. He declares that not only was Julian himself a failed philosopher, but also

(19) Cf. D. HUNT, *Julian* in *The Cambridge Ancient History*, vol. XIII, Cambridge, 1998, p. 63.

(20) *Pace* A. H. M. JONES, *The Later Roman Empire*, vol. I, Norman, 1964, p. 123.

that the philosophers who flocked to his court were mere pretenders to learning and sycophants who shared Julian's hatred of Christianity. Clearly, Socrates wants to destroy the image of Julian as a philosopher-king.

The subject of the second chapter of Book III is the killing in 361 of George of Cappadocia, Bishop of Alexandria ([21]). The fourth century sources treat the assassination as a consequence not only of religious conflict, but also of political and economic factors ([22]), and are not preoccupied with the individuals responsible. They see it as an event typical of the times in general and of Alexandria in particular ([23]). On the other hand, the fifth century historians, Socrates, Sozomen and Philostorgius, use the incident *come strumento di propaganda religiosa* ([24]). Thus Socrates composes a simplified and unified account which does not distinguish, as even Sozomen's does, the two attacks on George because he is more concerned with the results of actions than with reconstructing the actual facts ([25]). Here, he wants to prove that the pagans were guilty of the assassination, rather than the partisans of Athanasius who was George's rival for the bishopric ([26]).

Libanius was not Socrates' source for the killing of Bishop George. Rufinus' account (XI, 22) is closest to Socrates' version, but, even so, they do not completely correspond and Socrates must have had additional sources. Rufinus and Socrates begin similarly : there were disturbances at Alexandria and Constantius granted a disused temple to the Christians. However, although Rufinus speaks in general terms about the place being suited for "*latrociniis et sceleribus*", he never specifies that it was a Mithraeum or that human sacrifice had been practised there. He does not record a procession like the one in Socrates, nor does he name George or describe his death. He does, however, report a pitched battle between pagans and Christians. The incident of the Mithraeum appears to have been added to the fifth century accounts in order to strengthen the case against the pagans ([27]), and the story of human sacrifice can be

(21) M. CALTABIANO, *L'Assassinio di Giorgio di Cappadocia*, in *Quaderni Catanesi di Studi Classici e Medievali*, 7 (1985), pp. 17-59.
(22) *Ibid.*, p. 33.
(23) *Ibid.*, p. 19.
(24) *Ibid.*, p. 19.
(25) *Ibid.*, pp. 53-54.
(26) *Ibid.*, p. 59.
(27) *Ibid.*, p. 58.

discounted as an example of a common, rhetorical, retorsion argument ([28]). Thus it is clear that Socrates constructed his version in order to demonstrate that Bishop George died as a result of the conflict between the pagans, whom he demonizes, and the Christians over the Mithraeum.

Indeed, Socrates makes a special effort to disprove the allegation that Athanasius' supporters were responsible for killing Bishop George (III, 3, 1-4). Thus he points out that George had for some time been oppressive and troublesome towards everyone, and points out that Julian's letter reproving the Alexandrians blamed the "demos", not just the Christians. Socrates even quotes Julian's letter to prove his point and, in so doing, makes his one contribution to our source material on the Apostate ([29]).

In chapter 11, Socrates returns to Julian with the comment that he became less even-handed as time went on, and that he ceased to treat Christians well when it no longer served to blacken Constantius' memory. It is a transitional chapter expressing Socrates' own reflections. Chapter 12 is mostly devoted to the verbal confrontation between Julian and Bishop Maris of Chalcedon for which Socrates may have had an oral source ([30]). When Bishop Maris beats Julian at his own game, he realizes that educated Christians can refute pagans, and therefore closes the schools to them (III, 12, 7). Here, Socrates has adapted a traditional form of pagan/Christian dialogue in which the uneducated Christian confounds the pagan philosopher in order to impute a thoroughly discreditable motive to Julian's School Law. Julian is not the principled defender of the integrity of Hellenic culture which he appears in his own rescript ([31]), but a petty and vengeful loser. In addition, the story lays the groundwork for Socrates' own argument in favour of Christians receiving a proper education which he develops fully in Chapter 16.

In Chapter 12, Socrates also explains that Julian did not persecute in the same way as Diocletian had done because he did not want to provide Christians with martyrs. Libanius includes this desire to avoid martyr-

(28) *Ibid.*, p. 58. Cf. J. RIVES, *Human Sacrifice among Pagans and Christians*, in *JRS*, 85 (1995), p. 74 ff.

(29) JULIAN, *Ep.* 60, in J. BIDEZ and F. CUMONT, *Imp. Caesaris Flavii Claudii Iuliani Epistulae Leges Poematia Fragmenta Varia,* Paris, 1922. Cf. HANSEN, p. 194.

(30) F. GEPPERT, *Die Quellen des Kirchenhistorikers Socrates Scholasticus*, Leipzig, 1898, p. 123.

(31) JULIAN, *Rescript on Christian Teachers, Ep.* 61c, in BIDEZ and CUMONT (n. 29).

doms in a lengthy discussion about why Julian did not imitate his anti-Christian predecessors (*Or.* 18, 121-122). Rufinus (X, 33) does not address martyrdom directly, but notes that Julian was cleverer than other persecutors had been. It is typical of Socrates to specify Diocletian, although neither Libanius nor Rufinus names any of the persecuting emperors.

Determined to cast Julian in the role of persecutor, but faced with an absence of martyrs, Socrates adopts a broad definition of persecution which embraces any form of harassment (III, 12, 6). Thus he is able to cite as examples of persecution Julian's excluding Christians from appointments at court or as provincial governors (III, 13, 2), and extorting money to pay for the war against Persia from Christians who refused to sacrifice (III, 13, 9). He also complains that Julian tempted weaker Christians to apostasy by offering inducements, and names the sophist Hecebolius as the prime example (III, 13, 5). Socrates admits that those governors who extorted more money than they should have, or who physically mistreated Christians, exceeded their instructions, but he still blames Julian. According to him, these governors were emboldened to victimize Christians by the fact that Julian was a pagan, and, that when he learned of the abuses, he overlooked them and even mocked the Christian complainants (III, 14, 7-8). Although Julian is never mentioned in connection with the roasting alive of three Christians who smashed the statues in a newly re-opened temple, the horrific manner of their deaths and their heroic final witticism set the seal on Socrates' portrayal of Julian as persecutor (III, 15) ([32]).

In Chapter 16, Socrates returns to Julian's School Law which excluded Christian teachers from secular education, and tells how the two Apollinarii, father and son, re-wrote the Bible in classical genres as a substitute for the great works of Greek literature. Although Hansen cites no sources, Paul Speck finds that four different works underlie Socrates' account. These are two tracts about the Apollinarii, one opposing them for being heretics, and the other praising them for having made Julian's School Law ineffective, and two opposing Julian and arguing for the benefits of Christians receiving a classical education. Speck also concludes that the story of the Apollinarii writing their Christian classics is

(32) On Socrates' initiating the use of specific examples to prove that persecution occurred under, if not by, Julian, see R. J. PENELLA, *Julian the Persecutor in Fifth Century Church Historians*, in *The Ancient World*, 24 (1993), p. 37.

legendary and that these works were never composed ([33]). However, the question of whether or not these writings ever existed is not of prime importance here, for Socrates only tells this tale as support for his belief that Christians should not reject Classical education. He argues, first, that secular learning is not forbidden to Christians and, second, that Christians need to be educated in the content as well as the literary styles of the Classical writers if they are to gain the necessary intellectual skills to combat paganism. He clinches his second argument by reiterating Julian's supposed reason for excluding Christians from secular schools (III, 16, 19). This story of the albeit ephemeral success of these Christian Classics in countering the effect of the School Law also serves as one more example of the futility of Julian's pro-pagan policies ([34]).

In Chapter 17, Socrates deals with Julian's mishandling of a food shortage in Antioch, and with the resulting unpopularity which goaded the emperor into writing the *Misopogon* ([35]). Although Libanius mentions the *Misopogon*, his account differs from Socrates, whose main source for these events appears to be Julian's *Misopogon* itself, to which he refers and with which he displays verbal similarities ([36]). He is aware of Libanius' speeches which deal with this period, for he cites by name *Or.* 15 and 16 and knows that they were not actually delivered (III, 17, 7), but he does not seem to have used them as a source of information.

Socrates accuses Julian of both causing and exacerbating the food shortage. Moreover, he is the only extant source who explicitly connects the supply problem with the presence in Antioch of the army which Julian had assembled for his war against Persia (III, 17, 2) ([37]), although this was probably a common opinion. Libanius, for example, implicitly counters this explanation for the crisis when he declares that Antioch had sufficient resources to accommodate the court and the army (*Or.* 15, 16). Socrates claims that Julian imposed price controls because he wanted personal glory (III, 17, 2), and did not take into account the circumstances underlying the shortage. He is not alone in condemning both Julian's motives and his measures, for even Ammianus said that the emperor acted *nulla*

(33) P. SPECK, *Sokrates Scholastikos über die beiden Apolinarioi*, in *Philologus*, 141 (1997), p. 369.

(34) KRIVOUCHINE, p. 17.

(35) Cf. J. MATTHEWS, *The Roman Empire of Ammianus*, London, 1989, pp. 408-413.

(36) Cf. *Misopogon* 360D, in WRIGHT, p. 482 and III, 17, 3-6.

(37) HUNT, p. 72, n. 84.

probabili ratione suscepta, popularitatis amore (XXII, 14, 1). Socrates' bias is even more apparent in what he omits, for he does not say that Julian was responding to requests from the crowd in the hippodrome, or that he tried and failed to get the cooperation of the commercial classes, or that he supplied grain out of his own resources, despite the fact that this information is given by both Julian (*Misopogon* 368D ff.) and Libanius (*Or.* 18, 195). He then points out that the Antiochenes insulted Julian by suggesting that he should make his beard into a rope, and that they disapproved of his frequent sacrifices (III, 17, 4) ([38]). Indeed, Socrates reinforces their complaint about the sacrifices by stating that Julian put the image of a bull and an altar on his coinage (III, 17, 5). While it is true that Julian did depict the Mithraic tauroctony on his coins, there is no altar ([39]), and this error may result from Socrates' desire to emphasize Julian's obsession with sacrificing. As a whole, the episode furnishes another example of the futility of Julian's policies since he imposed price controls in order to be popular — as Socrates sees it — and ended up being loathed by the Antiochenes ([40]).

In Chapter 18, Socrates deals succinctly with Julian's removal of the mortal remains of St. Babylas from the vicinity of the Temple of Apollo at Daphne, and his main purpose is to set the scene for the torturing of Theodore in Chapter 19. His source is probably Rufinus (X, 36), for both he and Rufinus have the same hymn sung by the Christians who escorted the Saint to his new shrine. As Socrates himself admits (III, 19, 8), he takes the story of Theodore's martyrdom from Rufinus (X, 37), but he adapts it in order to demonstrate that Julian was not only a persecutor of Christians, but was becoming a worse one. He begins by saying that the incident revealed Julian's true nature (*τὸ κρυπτόμενον ἦθος*) (III, 19, 1), thus employing a typical device of rhetorical psychology. Then Socrates emphasizes how angry the procession had made Julian and how his failure to restrain his anger showed that Julian was not a true philosopher. Socrates declares that the emperor was so enraged that he would have persecuted the Christians in the same way that Diocletian had done (III, 19, 2), which contrasts pejoratively with Julian's initial avoidance of Diocletian's methods (III, 12, 6). The statement that Julian would have

(38) Even AMMIANUS disparaged Julian on this score (XXV, 4, 17).

(39) J. VANDERSPOEL, *Julian and the Mithraic Bull*, in *Ancient History Bulletin*, 12 (1998), p. 117.

(40) KRIVOUCHINE, p. 17.

personally inflicted cruelties upon the Christians if he had not been occupied with the Persian Expedition (III, 19, 3) shows Socrates' mastery of yet another common rhetorical device, the unfulfilled intention ([41]). The deliberate nature of Socrates' attack on Julian becomes even clearer when he is compared to his source, for Rufinus does not speak of Julian revealing his hidden nature, nor does he name Diocletian or construct an unfulfilled intention.

Socrates, then briefly turning his attention to the Persian Expedition, states that Julian rejected Persian peace proposals (III, 19, 10), for one of the *leitmotiven* of Socrates' treatment of Julian is that he was a warmonger. A comparison with his source the *Epitaphios* (*Or.* 18, 164), reveals that Socrates' version is heavily biassed against Julian. The close verbal similarity in Julian's reply to the Persians demonstrates that Socrates used Libanius' account, although it should be noted that Socrates converts Julian's reply into direct discourse, which makes it appear more forceful and arrogant. By omitting Julian's own explanation for rejecting the peace overtures, i.e. that his cities were in ruins, Socrates reinforces his depiction of the emperor as unreasonable and gratuitously bellicose. However, the greatest distortions are in what Socrates reports as the Persian offer. According to Libanius, the Persians sent a despatch in which they asked for leave to send an embassy which would settle any point at issue by discussion. According to Socrates, however, a Persian embassy actually arrived and offered to make peace on public and acknowledged terms. The difference between Libanius' Persians who are stalling for time, and Socrates' Persians who are serious about making peace conditions the reader's attitude towards Julian's reply to them.

Socrates' narrative of the attempt to rebuild the Temple at Jerusalem clearly derives from Rufinus (X, 38-40) since the two accounts include the same events in the same order, although Socrates, as is his wont, adds some precise details like the various building materials (III, 20, 6) and the kinds of tools which were destroyed by the fire (III, 20, 11) ([42]).

(41) The term is taken from A. CAMERON, J. LONG, L. SHERRY, *Barbarians and Politics at the Court of Arcadius*, Berkeley and Los Angeles, 1993, p. 229. For examples of its use by Socrates' pagan contemporary, Eunapius of Sardis, see D. F. BUCK, *The Reign of Arcadius in Eunapius' Histories* in *Byz.*, 68 (1998), pp. 27 and 30.

(42) For a survey of the ancient sources on the rebuilding of the Temple, see F. BLANCHETIÈRE, *Julien Philhellène, Philosémite, Antichrétien : L'affaire du Temple de Jerusalem (363)*, in *Journal of Jewish Studies*, 31 (1980), pp. 61-81.

Julian's motivation, however, is quite different in the two histories. According to Rufinus, Julian was simply curious as to why the Jews did not sacrifice (X, 38), but Socrates imputes two ignoble motives to Julian. He wanted to harm the Christians and he was so fond of sacrificing that he considered it a loss if others did not sacrifice with him (III, 20, 1-2).

In Chapter 21, Socrates narrates Julian's invasion of Persia and his death in battle. Here he errs when he says that Julian laid siege to Ctesiphon, for it is known from Ammianus (XXIV, 7, 1) that he did not. It appears that Socrates has misread his source, for Libanius does refer to the inhabitants of Ctesiphon as *τοὺς τειχήρεις* (*Or.* 18, 259), which could be interpreted as "the besieged", although Libanius does not describe an actual siege. Socrates then states that the Persians sent peace envoys to Julian because they were besieged (III, 21, 4). It thus appears that Socrates was induced to assume a siege because it allowed a plausible reconstruction of events — a reconstruction which fits with his perception of Julian as an over-confident warmonger.

Socrates claims that the King of Persia sent repeated embassies to Julian, offering to cede part of his territory if Julian would stop the war and go home (III, 21, 4). Since only a madman would reject such terms, Julian must be shown to be mad. Hence Socrates develops the idea that Julian was deluded by his megalomaniacal Alexander complex (III, 21, 5-8). Comparison with Libanius (*Or.* 18, 257-259), who is Socrates' source at this point, is instructive. First of all, Socrates' "embassies" is a rhetorical plural, for Libanius records only one actual embassy, although he does later allude to the Persians' intention to send a second (*Or.* 18, 268). In the *Epitaphios*, the terms offered by the Persians are much less enticing than in Socrates' version, for they proposed only to end the war and to sign a treaty as *socius et amicus* (*Or.* 18, 257). Julian rejected this offer for military reasons, not because he saw himself as a second Alexander. Libanius does admit that Julian conceived the desire to emulate Alexander, but says both that this happened after the abortive negotiations with the Persians, and that the Emperor was prompted by a god to abandon the idea before he had begun to actualize it. Socrates and Libanius also differ fundamentally on the genesis of Julian's Alexander complex. The former sees it as the consequence of divination by Maximus of Ephesus and the Pythagorean and Platonic doctrine of the transmigration of souls (III, 21, 6-8). The latter views it as entirely military in origin, and never mentions Maximus of Ephesus in connection with it.

Socrates takes his description of the actual killing of Julian (III, 21, 12) from Libanius (*Or.* 18, 268), and their language is very similar ([43]). Both attribute Julian's failure to wear his armour to overconfidence, though Socrates, driven by his perpetual desire to provide reasons for events, states the idea more bluntly and explicitly (III, 21, 11). Both Socrates (III, 21, 13) and Libanius (*Or.* 18, 274-275) also conclude that the killer was most likely one of Julian's own men, although Socrates does not try, as does Libanius, to convince his reader that the culprit was a Christian. In the matter of Julian's death, Socrates was not solely dependent on the *Epitaphios*, however, for he is the only extant source to refer to an heroic poem by Callistus, one of Julian's bodyguards ([44]).

Having shown the total failure of Julian's policies and actions, Socrates completes his condemnation of the Apostate by destroying his character. Thus he states that Julian's zeal made him reckless, his learning made him vain, and the clemency, to which he only pretended, made him contemptible (III, 21, 16). Although zeal, learning and clemency are virtues in themselves, they became vices in association with Julian ([45]). It is clear from this epitaph that Socrates felt no sympathy for Julian as an emperor or as a person.

With his usual chronological precision, Socrates correctly states that Jovian became emperor on the day after Julian's death (III, 22, 1) ([46]). Socrates then emphasizes that Jovian was a committed Christian. In fact, he uses the device of the "unfulfilled intention" to confer the status of a Confessor upon Jovian by declaring that he would have resigned his commission rather than comply with Julian's order to sacrifice, if the demands of the war against Persia had not compelled Julian to employ him (III, 22, 3). In addition, this story not only demonstrates Jovian's value as a general and thus lessens his culpability for the disadvantageous peace treaty which he concluded with Persia, but also implicitly contrasts him with Julian whose errors as commander indicate that he was an inferior general. Socrates (III, 22, 4-5) adopts Rufinus' version (XI, 1) of Jovian's acclamation as Augustus by the army which not only reinforces the fact that Jovian was an uncompromising Christian, but also demon-

(43) Libanius, *Or* XVIII, 268 : *διὰ τοῦ βραχίονος δραμὸν...* .
Socrates, III,21,12 : *διὰ τοῦ βραχίονος διαδραμὸν...* .
(44) WALLRAFF, p. 102.
(45) *Ibid.*, p. 103.
(46) HUNT, p. 76 (Julian's death on 26 June) and p. 78 (Jovian's proclamation on 27 June).

strates that Julian had failed to turn his soldiers into committed pagans. Since Rufinus does not record that the pagan Sallustius had been the army's first choice ([47]), there is no reason to assume that Socrates has deliberately suppressed this evidence of paganism.

Socrates admits that the peace treaty which Jovian concluded with Persia was bad for Rome. However, he defends Jovian by asseverating that the treaty was necessary, and by blaming Julian for putting the Roman army into this situation (III, 22, 6-9). Socrates claims that the whole army blamed Julian for letting himself be deceived by Persian deserters into destroying the fleet and heading inland. It is clear from Ammianus' account (XXIV, 7) and from Libanius' long defence of Julian's action (*Or.* 18, 262-263) that the Emperor was severely criticised for burning the boats. It is also known from Ammianus (XXIV, 7, 3 & 5) that Persian deserters did play a part in Julian's decision to march inland. Although these deserters are ignored by Zosimus and Libanius, perhaps for apologetic reasons ([48]), they are mentioned in a number of Christian sources ([49]), and Gregory Nazianzus (*Or.* 5, 11) is most likely Socrates' source for this information since he quotes from his work in the next chapter.

Socrates concludes his treatment of Julian by first attacking, not the Emperor's *Contra Galilaeos* itself, but rather Libanius' claim that Julian had refuted the Christian Scriptures with respect to the divinity of Christ (III, 22, 11-13) ([50]). This matter of the divinity of Christ is much more important to Socrates than to Libanius, however, for Libanius devotes only one short chapter in a long work to Julian's supposed refutation, whereas Socrates quotes the whole of section 178 of the *Epitaphios* as the introduction to Chapter 23 which contains personal attacks on Julian, Libanius and Porphyry, as well as a critique of the substance of their writings.

In the course of his attempt to refute Libanius, Socrates attacks Porphyry for disparaging Socrates the philosopher in his *Φιλόσοφος ἱστορία* (III, 23, 13), and Julian for disparaging all of his predecessors in the *Caesares*, even Marcus Aurelius (III, 23, 14). In both cases, however, Socrates' reading of the text in question is selective and misleading.

(47) AMMIANUS (XXV,5).
(48) F. PASCHOUD, *Zosime, Histoire Nouvelle* II1, Paris, 1979, p. 182.
(49) *Ibid.*, pp. 182-183.
(50) WALLRAFF, p. 103.

Fragment xii of the *Φιλόσοφος ἱστορία* preserves Porphyry's treatment of Socrates' baser nature who, even as a child, was said to be ill-behaved ([51]). He became interested in philosophy at the age of eighteen when he had an affair with Archelaus, a pupil of Anaxagoras. Porphyry admits that Socrates was temperate and ascetic in all physical matters except those of Aphrodite and then discusses his two "wives" and families. Yet it is important to emphasize that Porphyry is not scandal-mongering. These stories were probably so much a part of the Socrates legend that he had to include them, and he certainly does his best to reassure the reader about Socrates' propriety. He is careful to relate that Archelaus approached Socrates, and the affair is implicitly justified by the fact that it turned Socrates to the study of philosophy. With respect to the *Caesares*, although it is true that Silenus interrogates Marcus Aurelius roughly, the emperor does answer him effectively and he is, of course, the winner of the contest as best ruler (331B ff.). Socrates completes this personal attack on Julian by quoting Gregory of Nazianzus' scathing description of him as a student at Athens (III, 23, 18-26) and ignores Libanius' quite different version (*Or.* 18, 29-30).

Socrates begins his refutation of Porphyry's and Julian's arguments against Christianity by impugning their scholarship. If they had read Origen, they would have seen that their objections had already been answered (III, 23, 28-29). He then accuses both Libanius and Julian of hypocrisy and inconsistent thinking. Julian criticizes the attempt to find hidden meanings in the Christian Scriptures, yet defends a similar "Reserve" in *To the Cynic Heracleios* (*Or.* VII, 216C), and Libanius does not accept that Christ is God, but speaks of Julian himself in divine terms in the *Epitaphios* (*Or.* 18, 304 & 308). Socrates then concludes with a scathing Euhemerist denunciation of the pagan gods.

It is thus amply clear that Socrates wrote a thoroughly negative account of Julian which portrays him as a false philosopher and a total failure who was unredeemed by any personal virtue. Although he adopts a self-professed plain style, Socrates employs rhetorical techniques and deftly manipulates his sources — even the laudatory *Epitaphios* — in order to sustain his interpretation of Julian. Despite his affectation of precision with regard to names and dates, Socrates is more concerned with imputing motives and deducing reasons for events than with giving his readers

(51) A. NAUCK, ed., *Porphyrii Philosophi Platonici Opuscula Selecta*, Leipzig, 1886.

a detailed, factual account of Julian's reign. Socrates and his *Historia Ecclesiastica* are of considerable interest in themselves as examples of the Christian reaction to Julian, particularly since Socrates, though a committed Christian, defends the value of the content as well as the style of the Hellenic literary and intellectual tradition. However, as an historian of Julian's reign, he is completely derivative and offers very little information not found in earlier, extant sources with the notable exception of Julian's Letter 60 to the Alexandrians.

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CRUCISQUE SIGNO MUNITUS
LUCA DA DÈMENA
E L'EPOPEA ANTISARACENA ITALO-GRECA

Narra l'anonimo agiografo di Luca da Dèmena (1), detto più comunemente di Armento dal luogo del suo *dies natalis*, rivelando – nell'introdurre quello che può forse considerarsi l'episodio *clou* del *bìos* – una certa propensione per l'interpretazione paretimologica (2) coniugata alla

(1) Il *bìos* [*BHL* 4978], edito a Palermo nel 1657 nelle *Vitae Sanctorum Siculorum* di O. GAETANI [*VSS*], II, pp. 96-99, fu ripubblicato in *AA.SS. Oct.*, VI, Tongerloae 1794, pp. 337-342, da cui si citerà. Scritto *idiomate Graeco* (*ibid.*, p. 332C, nr. 2), si è conservato nella sola versione latina d'età probabilmente normanna (indicative le locuzioni di p. 340A, § 9, *Nicephori Constantinopolitani Imperatoris* e *Graecorum urbes*, dove l'originale greco avrà presentato derivati o affini del termine *Ῥωμαῖοι*) come il *bìos* [*BHL* 8697] di Vitale da Castronovo (tradotto su commissione del vescovo di Tricarico Roberto nel luglio 1194, edito anch'esso in *VSS*, II, pp. 86-93, poi in *AA.SS. Mart.*, II, Antverpiae 1668, pp. *26-*34, da cui si citerà) e fu redatto nello stesso *milieu* religioso-culturale, se non addirittura dal medesimo traduttore : sintomatico l'errore comune nella menzione del monastero di S. Filippo d'Agira in Sicilia, donde erano transitati, ma in momenti diversi, entrambi i Santi (*bìos* di Luca, p. 339D n."o" : «*Mendosè habet MS. nostrum* B. Philippi Largirii coenobium [nel testo, p. 337E, § 3 : Beati Philippi Agyrenaei coenobium]» ; *bìos* di Vitale, p. *26E, § 2 : «ad venerabilem Patrem Philippum Largirium...confugit»). E un errore analogo potrebbe essersi verificato anche per la *B. Laverii aedem*, santo peraltro non attestato nella restante agiografia storica italo-greca, citato nel *bìos* di Luca, p. 341C, § 14 [A. ACCONCIA LONGO, *Santi monaci italogreci alle origini del monastero di S. Elia di Carbone*, BBGG, n.s. 49-50 (1995-1996), p. 139, ipotizza un'interpolazione del traduttore], magari per deformazione e/o corruzione di un originario *Λαυρεντίου*, il cui culto è attestato nel *bìos* [*BHG* 1611] di Saba il Giovane da Collesano, ed. I. COZZA-LUZI, *Historia et laudes SS. Sabae et Macarii Iuniorum e Sicilia auctore Oreste Patriarcha Hierosolymitano*, Romae 1893, p. 17, § *Θ΄*, e in quello [*BHG* 312] di suo padre Cristoforo e suo fratello Macario, *ibid.*, p. 89, § *Ις΄*, fioriti nello stesso *milieu* geografico e cronologico ?

(2) L'autore sembra giocare sulla comune radice dei termini *Armenti-Armos* e di *arma* come anticipazione della contestuale narrazione epica. Si veda anche

visione provvidenzialistica della storia di ascendenza veterotestamentaria, che Luca «Jam vero aedificium illud, de quo jam diximus (3), vel ab ipso initio Armenti Castellum, Calabro autem idiomate rupes Armos appellatum, non fortuito, aut temere, sed divina quadam providentia ad salutem protectionemque multitudinis illuc ad refugium concurrentis perfecit – donde emerge la funzione sociale del monachesimo italo-greco». E continua : «Aliquando enim Agareni, qui & Sarraceni dicuntur (4), in eamdem provinciam [in Lucania cioè, dove dopo lunga peregrinazione Luca si è ormai definitivamente stabilito] venientes, plurimamque capientes turbam, & ubique depraedantes usque ad Armenti viciniam cucurrerunt, ubi cum fratribus suis Vir Dei manebat ; castraque metati sunt in campo, ubi Sanctissimae Virginis sacellum situm est – qui un riferimento topografico di attualità –. Et jam per campestria discurrentes, exsultantesque sacrum Dei genitricis locum immundis pedibus, accubitu, nefariisque sceleribus polluebant» (5).

Il Santo allora, «Quasi... in Virginem injurias, & innumerabilium fere captivorum calamitates audiens, quos catenis constrictos tenebant, in singultus, gemitus, fontemque lacrymarum effusus...» – e qui si può cogliere l'afflato religioso insieme e sociale, e fors'anche etnico e morale, che percorre questo filone agiografico e ricorre anche più sotto –, non sapendo che fare, implorava l'intervento divino e «hymnum, quem tres pueri cantabant in fornace, recitabat ; illudque David : "Deus, venerunt gentes in haereditatem tuam, polluerunt templum sanctum tuum, posuerunt Hierusalem in pomorum custodiam". Haeccine, Domine, gentes in servos tuos faciunt, quorum alios occiderunt, alios flagellaverunt, alios turpiter, & crudelissime captos tenent, ut in captivitatem, & servitutem ducant [in Sicilia, quasi certamente]. Et nunc, Domine, diminuti, afflicti, & humi-

nel *bìos* [*BHG* 581] di Elia Speleota, *AA.SS. Sept.*, III, Antverpiae 1750, p. 849B, § 3, l'etimologia di *Ῥήγιον*, o nella *Vita di S. Nicodemo di Kellarana* [*BHG* 2305], a cura di M. Arco Magrì, Roma-Atene 1969, p. 94, ll. 64-70, l'etimologia di *Νικόδημος*.

(3) Aveva parlato a p. 340A, § 9, della edificazione del cenobio a partire dalla «Basilicam sub Mariae Virginis, Petrique Apostoli nomine».

(4) La specificazione risale forse al traduttore, non trovando riscontro nella restante agiografia storica italo-greca, specie in quella conservatasi in lingua originale, dove è ricorrente il termine *Ἀγαρηνοὶ* accanto a *Σαρακηνοὶ* e *Ἰσμαηλῖται*. Non ricorre di contro l'etnonimo *Ἄραβες* e derivati, tranne la locuzione *τὸ Ἀραβικὸν ἔθνος* nel *bìos* dello Speleota, p. 876E, § 69. Cf. anche *infra*, nn. 57-61.

(5) *Bìos*, p. 340BC, § 10.

liati sumus super omnes in terra. Fac nobiscum secundum multitudinem misericordiae tuae, & libera de hac captivitate servos tuos. Ecce enim, Domine, sicut ferae silvestres, leonesque insurrexerunt, alumnosque tuos devoraverunt, dicentes : "Ubi est Deus eorum ?" ; et : "Quis Deus eripiet eos de manibus nostris ?" (6). Propitius esto, Domine, & ne des in opprobrium sanguinem servorum tuorum» (7). Così, dunque, orava fra pianti e lacrime il divino Luca nelle veglie propiziatrici assieme ai confratelli.

Dio pertanto, «quemadmodum in Veteri Testamento...locutus est Moysi, dicens : "Quid clamas ad me ? Eleva virgam tuam, & percute mare, & pertransibis tu, & filii Israël"», allorché si trattò di attraversare il Mar Rosso (8), così gli rispose, dicendo : «Quid clamas ad me ? Loquere cum fratribus tuis, & accingant se cuncti. Tu vero accipe baculum tuum, ad pellendos hosce canes – da notare la marcata valenza ideologica dello spregiativo, già usato anche in precedenza per i Saraceni (9), messo in

(6) Il motivo dello scherno sacrilego dei nemici – pur esso di ascendenza veterotestamentaria – ricorre anche nel *bìos* dello Speleota, p. 862DE, § 35, nel brano dedicato alla profanazione della tomba del suo maestro Arsenio.

(7) *Bìos*, p. 340CD, § 10. Per i riferimenti veterotestamentari cf. *Dan.* 3,46ss. e *Ps.* 78 (79),1 rispettivamente.

(8) Cf. *Exod.* 14,15-16. Il passo biblico è riecheggiato o richiamato, con la sua valenza simbolica, anche nel *bìos* di Saba, p. 23, § *ΙΓ΄* ; in quello di Nicodemo, p. 116, c. 13, ll. 294-299 ; in quello [*BHG* 1513] di Filareto il Giovane (*Messan. gr.* 29, f. 5τβ ; *Neapol. gr.* 26 [II.A.26], f. 332r) : *Τί δὲ ὁ τῶν θαυμασίων Θεός, ὁ τεμὼν θάλατταν καὶ λαὸν διασώσας φυγάδα Ἰσραηλίτην...*, con riferimento alla spedizione in Sicilia di Giorgio Maniace del 1038-1040 ; in quello [*BHG Suppl.* 2237] di Luca vescovo, ed. G. Schirò', *Vita di s. Luca vescovo di Isola Capo Rizzuto*, Palermo 1954, p. 84, ll. 49-51.

(9) Cf. *infra*, n. 28, e, per il precedente veterotestamentario, *I Reg.* 17,43. In proposito si può inoltre richiamare un passo dalla *Vita di Sant'Elia il Giovane* [*BHG* 580], a cura di G. Rossi Taibbi, Palermo 1962, p. 34, ll. 451-455, dove, in tema di rapporti contro natura, sulla scia di precedenti biblici e paolini, ma con riferimento alla loro cultura antropologica, così dice il Santo ad alcuni Ismaeliti : *Καὶ τὴν ὀσφὺν ἄδετον ἔχοντες, ἀκρατεῖς περὶ τὰς ἡδονάς ἐστε καὶ τῶν ἀλόγων οὐ πόρρω, τῶν μὴ λόγον ἐχόντων τὸν κρατοῦντα τῶν ἡδονῶν, πλὴν καὶ τὰ ἄλογα ὄρον οἶδε τῆς φυσικῆς κινήσεως, ὑμεῖς δ'ἐν ἄρρενι μὲν τὸ θῆλυ, ἐν δὲ τῷ θήλει τὸ ἄρρεν ἐπιζητεῖτε*. A tal riguardo, visto il trattamento riservato dai Saraceni ai prigionieri cristiani (*supra*, n. 7 e contesto), documentato anche nel *bìos* di Cristoforo e Macario (*infra*, n. 29) e in quello [*BHG* 235] di Bartolomeo da Simeri, *AA.SS. Sept.*, VIII, Antverpiae 1762, p. 821A, § 27 (*τὸ πλοῖόν ποτε τῆς μονῆς ὑπό τινων ἀγαρηνῶν κρατηθέν, ἐκεῖνοι προσεδόκων παθεῖν παρ' αὐτῶν ἅπερ χριστιανοὺς παρὰ τῶν τοιούτων εἰκός*), è probabile

bocca a Dio, che sembrerebbe riecheggiare il linguaggio adoperato nel duello fra David e il gigante Golia – praeibis ; nec enim stare poterunt à facie splendoris gratiae spiritus tibi concessae ; invenisti enim gratiam apud me». Ottenuta, dunque, questa risposta, «Beatissimus Luca sese ut vir fortis accinxit, stetitque in porta [del Castello], cunctos suos inspiciens, & robustissimos quosque, ceteris in Castello relictis, elegit» ; quindi – crociato *ante litteram* – «crucisque signo munitus, tamquam strenuium militum dux, ingenti animo, extra portam electos cohortatur : sumensque a Gedeone exemplum, qui ex ingenti multitudine paucos elegit, quibus infinitos hostium cuneos superavit ; & a Jesu Nave, qui parva similiter manu maximas saepe copias profligavit ([10]), dicit ad suos : "Et vos debentes animas pro fratribus vestris ponere, exite in spe victoriae, acriterque contra Christi, Christianaeque rei hostes infestissimos pugnate. Tradet enim eos in manus vestras Deus"», dove ancora una volta, accanto ai riferimenti espliciti, è da rimarcare l'ascendenza veterotestamentaria della locuzione finale. Rivolta, dunque, quest'allocuzione ai suoi monaci fatti soldati, Luca «extendit manum suam, benedixitque ipsis, & oravit, contraque Agarenos dimisit» ; così continua poi l'agiografo – e qui avviene il miracolo preannunciato da Dio – : «Hi [gli Agareni, cioè] vero, cum se ad defensionem praepararent – sembrano, dunque, i Cristiani in posizione di attacco –, magnum ignis fulgorem equum circumire candidissimum ([11]), cui Pater sanctissimus insidebat, aspexerunt : cumque eorum facies flamma coruscans obtunderet, nimio terrore in fugam conversi sunt, omnesque in praelio corruerunt» ([12]) ; e precisamente «Plurimi ergo

che i Saraceni, fra altre violenze, praticassero sui Cristiani, specie monaci, anche lo stupro.

(10) Cf. rispettivamente *Jud.* 7,1ss. ed *Exod.* 17,8ss.

(11) G. Da Costa-Louillet, *Saints de Sicile et d'Italie méridionale aux viii^e, ix^e et x^e siècles*, in *Byzantion*, 29-30 (1959-1960), p. 145, così parafrasa il passo : «Ceux-ci [i Saraceni, cioè], qui se préparaient à la défense, virent soudain le cheval blanc monté par Luc, entouré de flammes» ; senonché il termine *candidissimum* appare piuttosto da riferire al *magnum ignis fulgorem* che non ad *equum* (S. Caruso, *Sulla cronologia del* dies natalis *di s. Vitale da Castronovo di Sicilia*, in *Ὀπώρα. Studi in onore di mgr Paul Canart per il LXX compleanno*, a cura di S. Lucà e L. Perria, II [= BBGG, n.s. 52 {1998}] [*infra* : *Vitale*], pp. 129-130 n. 50).

(12) Per un analogo θαῦμα nel *bìos* di Filareto, qui sotto forma di vento impetuoso in faccia ai barbari nella battaglia [di Troina] del 1040, che dà la vittoria all'esercito bizantino guidato da Giorgio Maniace, cf. S. Caruso, *Il* bìos *di s. Filareto il Giovane (XI sec.) e la Calabria tardo-bizantina*, in *Sant'Eufemia*

gladio caesi, alii verò captivi ducti, alii demum, turpi evadentes fuga, armis expoliati sunt». Per cui, «Hac vero pro [+ divina ?] voluntate usus victoria Sanctissimus Dei famulus, hunc psalmum cantare incoepit : "Exurgat Deus, & dissipentur omnes inimici ejus, & fugiant, qui oderunt eum, a facie ejus"» ([13]).

Si conclude così con la vittoria dei Cristiani l'unica battaglia – che sarà ovviamente stata una scaramuccia –, di cui si conservi memoria nell' agiografia storica italo-greca ([14]), fra i monaci-soldati, molti di probabile origine siciliana emigrati come lo stesso Luca in Italia meridionale, e gli invasori saraceni – qualche manipolo di razziatori distaccatisi dal grosso dell'esercito in cerca di bottino – provenienti, probabilmente, dalla Sicilia. Luca infatti, nato a Dèmena ([15]) nel messinese verso gli anni '10-20 del X s., al pari di altri santi asceti siculo-greci (Leo-Luca da Corleone ([16]), Elia il Giovane da Enna, Cristoforo, Saba e Macario da Collesano, Vitale da Castronovo, Giovanni Theristes ([17]), Filareto il

d'Aspromonte, a cura di S. LEANZA (†), Soveria Mannelli 1997 [*infra* : *Filareto*], p. 97 n. 24.

(13) *Bìos*, p. 340D-F, § 11. Per il riferimento biblico finale, *Ps.* 67 (68), 2.

(14) Sempre le comunità, non solo monastiche, innanzi all'invasore saraceno migravano o trovavano temporaneo rifugio nei castelli fortificati, come mostra, ad es., lo stesso *bìos* di Luca (*supra*, n. 3 e contesto), quello di Elia il Giovane, p. 64, ll. 857-865, quello dello Speleota, p. 876DE, § 69. Cf. anche V. VON FALKENHAUSEN, *La dominazione bizantina nell'Italia meridionale dal IX all'XI secolo*, Bari 1978, p. 42.

(15) Sul toponimo Dèmena-Dèmenna e l'etnonimo Demenìti, cf. *Cronaca di Monemvasia*, a cura di I. DUIČEV, Palermo 1976, pp. 12-14, ll. 95-117, dove si narra che al tempo dell'imperatore Maurizio e delle invasioni avare e slave in Peloponneso a cavallo tra VI e VII secolo *οἱ Λάκωνες, τὸ πατρῷον ἔδαφος καταλιπόντες, οἱ μὲν ἐν τῇ νήσῳ Σικελίας ἐξέπλευσαν, οἳ καὶ εἰς ἔτι εἰσὶν ἐν αὐτῇ, ἐν τόπῳ καλουμένῳ Δέμενα, καὶ Δεμενῖται ἀντὶ Λακεδαιμονιτῶν κατονομαζόμενοι καὶ τὴν ἰδίαν τῶν Λακώνων διάλεκτον διασώζοντες* ; inoltre, di recente, E. KISLINGER, *Regionalgeschichte als Quellenproblem. Die Chronik von Monemvasia und das sizilianische Demenna. Ein historisch-topographische Studie*, Wien, 2001, pp. 110-154.

(16) Il *bìos* di Leo-Luca, conservatosi pur esso in sola traduzione latina, edito in *VSS*, II, pp. 80-84, fu ripubblicato in *AA.SS. Mart.*, I, Antverpiae 1668, pp. 97-102, da cui si citerà ; cf. inoltre *La Vita di san Leone Luca di Corleone*, a cura di M. STELLADORO, Badia Greca di Grottaferrata 1995.

(17) Nato a Palermo, era però stato concepito in Calabria da genitori calabri, come narra il suo *bìos* [*BHG* 894-894a], ed. S. BORSARI, *Vita di San Giovanni Terista. Testi greci inediti*, ASCL, 22 (1953), p. 137, c. 1.

(18) Il suo *bìos* (*supra*, nn. 8, 12), opera di Nilo monaco, in *AA.SS. Apr.*, I,

Giovane ([18])), transitati tutti, tranne Elia, Giovanni e Filareto, dal monastero di S. Filippo d'Agira ([19]), nel corso degli anni '30, se non addirittura nei primi anni '40, aveva dovuto emigrare, forse sotto la spinta della pressione saracena – ma il *bìos*, diversamente da quello di Leo-Luca e da quelli di Saba e di Cristoforo e Macario ([20]), non lo dice esplicitamente –, dalla Sicilia in Calabria, presso il *μέγα σπήλαιον* di Elia Speleota nella *χώρα Σαλινῶν* in Calabria meridionale ([21]), dove il celebre cenobiarca, «hospitis indolem intuitus, hominem honestissime suscepit ; atque ex auro suscepto sapientissimus artifex vas pretiosum effecit» ([22]). Da qui poi, dopo un periodo relativamente lungo di proficua e serena vita monastica in concomitanza, molto probabilmente, col regno del saggio e lungimirante Romano I Lacapeno ([23]), che assicurò un ventennio circa di pacifica esistenza alle popolazioni italo-greche, quelle calabro-meridionali in specie [come sembrerebbe documentato nel *bìos* dello stesso Speleota ([24]) e nella cosiddetta *Cronaca siculo-saracena di*

Antverpiae 1675, pp. 606-618, nella traduzione latina di A. Fiorito, edita originariamente nelle *VSS* del Gaetani, II, pp. 112-127.

(19) Sul ruolo di questa istituzione quale fucina di religiosità bizantina e vivaio di santità italo-greca nel corso del IX-X secolo, sulla sua probabile scomparsa dopo la sconfitta di Manuele Foca nel 964 e sulla sua rinascita in età normanna cf. *Vitale*, p. 125 e n. 34.

(20) Cf. S. CARUSO, *Sicilia e Calabria nell'agiografia storica italo-greca*, in *Calabria Cristiana. Società Religione Cultura nel territorio della Diocesi di Oppido Mamertina-Palmi*, a cura di S. LEANZA (†), Soveria Mannelli 1999 [*infra* : *Sicilia e Calabria*], pp. 563-564 e 572-574 rispettivamente.

(21) Cf. *bìos*, p. 337F, § 3, e, per la cronologia, S. CARUSO, *Sulla cronologia della vita di s. Elia Speleota da Reggio*, in *Byzantion*, 70 (2000) [*infra* : *Elia Speleota*], pp. 41-43.

(22) *Bìos*, pp. 337F-338A, § 3. Per l'immagine adoperata cf. *Act.* 9,15. Sull' identificazione di Luca da Dèmena con l'omonimo discepolo dello Speleota, *ὁ θεῖος Λουκᾶς, ὁ καὶ φαλακρός*, che compare a più riprese nel suo *bìos* anche come fonte dell'agiografo, cf. *Elia Speleota*, pp. 40-41.

(23) Cf. M. AMARI, *Storia dei Musulmani di Sicilia*, seconda ediz. a cura di C. A. NALLINO, II, Catania 1935, pp. 204-211, e *Sicilia e Calabria*, p. 603.

(24) Cf. *ibid.* ed *Elia Speleota*, pp. 45-47.

(25) E' infatti sintomatico che in essa, ed. P. SCHREINER, *Die byzantinischen Kleinchroniken*, I-III, Wien 1975-1979 [CFHB XII/1-3 *Series Vindobonensis*], I, pp. 331-340, Chronik 45, dopo gli attacchi contro Bruzzano in Calabria nel 923/924 (p. 337, nr. 45), Oria nel 925 (nr. 46) e Taranto nel 928 (nr. 47) in Puglia e contro Tiriolo nella Calabria centrale nel 929 (p. 338, nr. 48), sui quali cf. anche AMARI, pp. 200-210, non si registrino più incursioni contro la Calabria, specie meridionale, e contro il resto d'Italia fino al 952, anno della spedizione di Malakinòs.

Cambridge ([25]), nonché in Giovanni Skylitzes ([26])], grazie anche all'insorgere di discordie e crisi interne al mondo musulmano ([27]), di nuovo sotto l'incalzare della minaccia saracena ([28]), quasi certamente al tempo della sciagurata spedizione del patrizio Malakinòs e in seguito alla sua sconfitta e morte presso Gerace il 7 maggio 952 ([29]), che ebbe come effet-

(26) Cf. pp. 263-265 THURN.

(27) Testimoniate anche *ibid.*, p. 265, ne rimane eco pure nella *Cronaca siculo-saracena* (p. 338, nr. 49, *ad an. 940/6449 (Ind. 14) Nov. 20* : (cod. V) *ἔτους ,ϛυμζ΄ παρελήφθη ἡ Ἀκρακανθὸς καὶ ἐτράπησαν οἱ Χριστιανοὶ εἰς τὸ Δερδάριν* ; (cod. P) *ἔτει ,ϛυμε΄ ἐπιάσθη ἡ Κρακαντὸς ἐπὶ τοῦ Χαλὶμ καὶ ἐσφάγησαν οἱ βέβαιοι*) e nel *bìos* di Saba (*infra*, n. 74 e contesto) ; per le fonti arabe, AMARI, pp. 214-247.

(28) Dice infatti il *bìos*, p. 338A, § 5, sempre in chiave veterotestamentaria : «Sed humani generis hostis infestissimus...gentem in nos pravissimam excitavit. Ac propter innumeram nostrorum delictorum multitudinem, tradidit nos inimicorum manibus Deus,...flagellari permisit. Haec autem omnia, Spiritus Sancti gratia revelante, Beatissimus Lucas Calabriae Provinciae eventura praecognoscens, ipsamque canum [*supra*, n. 9 e contesto] morsibus devorandam,...ab eo, quem diximus, speluncae loco discessit...». Sulla datazione della partenza di Luca dal *μέγα σπήλαιον* al 951-952 ca., al tempo cioè della spedizione di Malakinòs, cf. *Elia Speleota*, p. 48 e n. 112.

(29) Riporta la *Cronaca siculo-saracena*, p. 338, nr. 50, *ad an. 952/ 6460 (Ind. 10) Mai 7* : (cod. V) *ἔτους ,ϛυξα΄ ἐπέρασεν ὁ Βουλχάσενης ἐν Καλαβρίᾳ καὶ ἔτρεψεν τὸν Μαλακιανόν* ; (cod. P) *ἔτει ,ϛυξα΄ ἐτράπη ὁ Μαλακιανὸς ὁ στρατηγὸς εἰς τὴν Ἁγίαν Κυριακήν* [= Gerace]). Narra a sua volta Skylitzes, p. 266, c. 7, che l'imperatore Costantino VII, nella seconda parte del suo regno (944-959), non volle come suo suocero mantenere rapporti amichevoli coi Saraceni e rinnovare la pace, ma pensò piuttosto di risolvere il contenzioso con la guerra ; raccolse pertanto un forte esercito al comando del patrizio Malakinòs e lo inviò in Calabria a fronteggiare con lo stratego Pascalio la guerra mossa da Cartaginesi e Siciliani. Ma i soldati, giunti a destinazione, *μυρία ἔδρων εἰς τοὺς αὐτόχθονας κακά, πλεονεκτοῦντες καὶ ἄλλα ποιοῦντες, ἃ καὶ αὐτοὶ ἂν ὤκνησαν οἱ πολέμιοι* ; per cui *ὁ τῶν Σαρακηνῶν ἀμηρᾶς Ἀβουλχαρέ*, sfruttando il malcontento della popolazione e infondendo così coraggio al proprio esercito, riportò una splendida vittoria. Malakinòs cadde in battaglia, come documenta in ambito italo-greco il *bìos* di Saba, pp. 17-18, § *Θ΄*. La vicenda ritorna anche nel *bìos* di Cristoforo e Macario, pp. 88-89, § *Ιϛ΄* : *Κατ'ἐκεῖνον δὲ τὸν καιρὸν...Οἱ δὲ τὴν παράλιον οἰκοῦντες μοναχοί, δεδιῶτες μή τι συμβῇ αὐτοῖς τῶν ἀνιαρῶν ὑπὸ τῶν παλαμναίων καὶ ἀγρίων θηρῶν τούτων, τοῖς ὁρίοις ἐπέβησαν τοῦ Λατινιανοῦ· κἀκεῖσε μοναστήρια συστησάμενοι, ᾤκησαν ἐκεῖσε* – il trasferimento, dunque, dal Mercurion (Calabria) al Latiniano (Lucania) –. Su Malakinòs cf. anche due sigilli in V. LAURENT, *Contributions à la prosopographie du thème de Longobardie*, in

to uno sconvolgimento generale in Calabria e – in particolare – la diaspora della eparchia monastica del Mercurion, aveva dovuto nuovamente emigrare verso nord, in Lucania, «& in opidum, quod Noa dicitur, venit» ([30]) ; quindi – e qui ritorna il motivo, tipico nella letteratura agiografica, della *ξενιτεία* –, «Hic septem annos commoratus statuit in alium locum, ubi incognitus, privatusque esset, secedere» ([31]), donde «Ergo profectus Noa, ad vetus jam, dirutumque S. Juliani caenobium venit, juxta flumen Agrumenti, quod refecit, auxitque» ([32]) ; dal monastero di S. Giuliano, dove ebbe peraltro una lite con un signorotto confinante col convento, tale Landolfo – nome di chiara origine longobarda ([33]) –, quando «Nicephori [Foca] Constantinopolitani Imperatoris tempore» l'innominato «ferox quidam [= Ottone I imperatore] ex Transalpinis nationibus in Italiam venit, ut diriperet, atrociterque Graecorum urbes expugnaret

Byzantino-Sicula II, Miscellanea di scritti in memoria di Giuseppe Rossi Taibbi, Palermo 1975, pp. 312-314.

(30) *Bìos*, p. 338B, § 5. Per Noa = Noepoli (Lucania) cf. J. GAY, *L'Italie méridionale et l'empire byzantin depuis l'avènement de Basile Ier jusqu'à la prise de Bari par les Normands (867-1071)*, Paris 1904, p. 266, e S. BORSARI, *Il monachesimo bizantino nella Sicilia e nell'Italia meridionale prenormanne*, Napoli 1963, p. 50.

(31) *Bìos*, p. 338BC, § 6. L'ideale della *ξενιτεία* è attestato anche nel *bìos* di Nicodemo (CARUSO, *Un nuovo santo nell'agiografia storica italo-greca : Anania ? (* Bìos *di Nicodemo di Kellàrana)*, in *Κανίσκιν. Studi in onore di Giuseppe Spadaro*, a cura di A. DI BENEDETTO ZIMBONE e F. RIZZO NERVO, Soveria Mannelli 2002, pp. 92-93 e n. 80), e in quello [*BHG* 1370] di Nilo da Rossano (J.-M. SANSTERRE, *Saint Nil de Rossano et le monachisme latin*, BBGG, n.s. 45 [1991] [= *Miscellanea di studi in onore di P. Marco Petta per il LXX compleanno*, I], pp. 345, 360) ; ma si veda anche il viaggio in Sicilia del diciassettenne Elia Speleota nel suo *bìos*, pp. 850E-851A, §§ 6-8. Per una visione non eroica (questa ritorna anche nel *bìos* di Elia il Giovane, p. 14, ll. 161-162), ma dolorosa della *ξενιτεία* si vedano, di contro, i *bìoi* di Saba, p. 24, § *ΙΔ΄* (*οἶδε γὰρ ξενιτεία μυρίοις ὅσοις τοὺς ἁλόντας περιβάλλειν κακοῖς*), e di Filareto (*Filareto*, pp. 99 e n. 30, 100 e n. 32).

(32) *Bìos*, p. 338C, § 7.

(33) *Ibid.*, pp. 338F-339A, § 8. Sull'episodio, ACCONCIA LONGO, pp. 133-134. Il tema dei conflitti confinari o di proprietà ritorna anche nel *bìos* di Leo-Luca (S. CARUSO, *Due casi di «racconto mascherato» nel* bìos *di s. Leo-Luca da Corleone (*BHL *4842)*, in *Quaderni di Cultura e Tradizione Classica*, 12-1994 [Palermo 1999], p. 116 e n. 27) e in quello di Elia Speleota (ID., *La χώρα Σαλινῶν nell'agiografia storica italo-greca*, in corso di stampa negli *Studi in onore di Sandro Leanza* [*infra* : χώρα Σαλινῶν], n. 136 e contesto).

(34) *Bìos*, p. 340A, § 9. La spedizione è registrata nella *Cronaca siculo-saracena*, p. 339, nr. 56, *ad an. 968 Nov.-969 Mai/6477 (Ind. 12)* : *ἔτους ,ϛνοζ΄*

[968-969]» ([34]), si ritirò infine in un luogo più montano, ad Armento, sempre in Lucania, sua ultima sede terrena e ricetto delle sue spoglie mortali ([35]) : e quivi ebbe luogo la crociata in miniatura.

Né l'esodo dalla Sicilia toccò soltanto il mondo monastico – che sarà comunque rimasto, con la sua valenza religioso-ideologica e il suo radicamento nel territorio, il bersaglio principale dei Saraceni –, ma avrà interessato più ampi strati della popolazione, come sembra mostrare, sempre nel corso della seconda metà del secolo X, il caso della sorella di Luca,

ἦλθον οἱ Φράγγοι εἰς Λαγουβαρδίαν καὶ κατῆλθον εἰς Καλαβρίαν, ἰνδικτιῶνος <ι>α΄ [?]. Cf. anche SCHREINER, II, p. 134, nonché P. Lamma, *Il problema dei due Imperi e dell'Italia meridionale nel giudizio delle fonti letterarie dei secoli IX e X*, in *Atti del III Congresso internazionale di studi sull'Alto Medioevo. Benevento, Montevergine, Salerno, Amalfi, 14-18 ottobre 1956*, Spoleto 1959 [C.I.S.A.M.], pp. 155-253, ora anche in P. LAMMA, *Oriente e Occidente nell'alto Medioevo. Studi storici sulle due civiltà*, Padova 1968, pp. 231-337, in part. 331-332.

(35) Cf. *bìos*, pp. 340B-341F, §§ 10-16. Sul *dies natalis* di Luca a p. 341F, § 16, è detto che «feliciter migravit ad Dominum III. Id. Octob. a mundo condito sexies millesimo 493, ab Incarn. Domini 993», con una discrepanza, ivi non rilevata, fra l'A.M. 6493 (=984) — l'unico che avrà figurato nell'originale greco – e l'A.D. 993 ; e a p. 336D, nr. 18, viene ribadita la data 993, ripresa anche da AMARI, p. 470 e n. 1, G. ROBINSON, *History and Cartulary of the Greek Monastery of St Elias and St Anastasius of Carbone*, I. History, in *Orientalia Christiana*, XI,5 (1928), p. 283 [15] ; DA COSTA-LOUILLET, p. 146 ; A. PERTUSI, *Aspetti organizzativi e culturali dell'ambiente monacale greco dell'Italia meridionale*, in *L'eremitismo in Occidente nel secoli XI e XII*, Milano 1965, p. 397 ; C. PASINI, *Vita di s. Filippo d'Agira attribuita al monaco Eusebio*, Roma 1981 [*OCA*, 214]. p. 18 n. 19. Per il 984 cf., di contro, GAY, p. 266 ; L.R. MÉNAGER, *La 'Byzantinisation' religieuse de l'Italie méridionale (IX^e^-XII^e^ siècles) et la politique monastique des Normands d'Italie*, RHE, 53 (1958), p. 769 ; BORSARI, *op. cit.*, p. 51 e n. 120 ; J. DÉCARREAUX, *Normands papes et moines en Italie méridionale et en Sicile. XI^e^-XII^e^ siècle*, Paris 1974, p. 80 ; *La Vita di san Fantino il Giovane*, a cura di E. FOLLIERI, Bruxelles 1993, p. 114 n. 209 ; ACCONCIA LONGO, p. 137 e nn. 41-42 ; *Elia Speleota*, pp. 41-43 e nn. 77-90. Poiché peraltro nel *bìos*, p. 341F, § 16, è detto che «Adfuit in obitu S. Sabas, Lucae moribus, ac sanctitate par», erroneamente individuato a p. 342E n."s", e quindi anche dalla DA COSTA-LOUILLET, p. 146, nell'abate del monastero di S. Filippo di Agira primo istitutore di Luca nella vita monastica, meglio identificato invece da BORSARI, *ibid.*, p. 51 e n. 120, in Saba da Collesano, morto giovedì 6 febbraio 990 ca., Luca sarà morto nel 984, per di più neppure tanto vecchio (*Vitale*, p. 132 n. 59). La sua tomba nella chiesa di Armento è menzionata anche nel *bìos* di Vitale, p. *34D, §§ 24-25, che vi fu pure lui sepolto «cum fratre meo Luca» al termine della tormentata *triplex translatio* delle sue spoglie (*Vitale*, pp. 135-137).

Caterina, che, rimasta vedova, emigrò coi suoi figli Antonio e Teodoro presso il fratello in Lucania ([36]), forse dopo la disastrosa spedizione siciliana di Manuele Foca del 964 ([37]), se non dopo il 976, al tempo della spedizione in Calabria dell'emiro Abû al-Qâsim ([38]), e quello del nipote di Vitale, Elia ([39]), emigrato anche lui in Lucania in prossimità della morte dello zio nel 994 ; ma soprattutto la testimonianza del *bìos* di Saba da Collesano relativa alla formazione, in Italia meridionale, di comunità monastiche che, probabilmente in virtù dell'entità numerica, conservavano l'etnonimo di provenienza, quali il monastero dei Siracusani e quello dei Taorminesi ([40]), che farebbe pensare ad una sorta di esodo di massa ; mentre in pieno XI s., attorno al 1040-1041, al tempo della spedizione in Sicilia di Giorgio Maniace nell'ultimo tentativo di riconquista della Sicilia, anch'essa fallita pur dopo inizi fulgidamente vittoriosi, sovviene il caso di Filareto e dei suoi genitori, gente peraltro umile e molto povera ([41]).

Tornando, dunque, alla crociata di Luca, non vi sono elementi a conferma della storicità dell'episodio bellico, essendo il suo *bìos* l'unica

(36) Cf. *bìos*, p. 341DE, § 15, e, per l'aspetto cronologico, *infra*, n. 38.

(37) Narrata da Leone Diacono, pp. 65-67 HASE, e sulla sua scia da Skylitzes, p. 267, c. 9, e registrata laconicamente anche nella *Cronaca siculo-saracena*, p. 338, nr. 53 (*ad an. 964/6473* [*Ind. 8*] *Okt. 24* : *καὶ ἐτρώπη ὁ Μανουὴλ ὀκτωβρίῳ κδ΄*), ne resta memoria anche in una nota marginale autografa di Nilo da Rossano in calce al f. 59v del *Crypt. B. α.* XX, riportata in V. VON FALKENHAUSEN, *La Vita di s. Nilo come fonte storica per la Calabria bizantina*, in *Atti del Congresso Internazionale su S. Nilo di Rossano*, Rossano-Grottaferrata 1989, p. 273 n. 17.

(38) L'arrivo sembra infatti collocarsi dopo l'evento bellico (datato, *infra*, agli anni attorno al 976), sia perché lo segue nella narrazione, sia perché la «Sancta femina... – p. 341D, § 15 – Virginum societatem instituit, cum quibus honestissimam in campestri...Sanctae Dei Genitricis aede vitam duxit», nella sede – quindi – in prossimità della quale si svolse la battaglia, evidentemente prima che vi si insediasse.

(39) Cf. *bìos* di Vitale, pp. *31Css., §§ 16ss.

(40) Cf. *Sicilia e Calabria*, p. 577-578 e nn. 52-54. Di un copista monaco taorminese operante nel sec. X-XI in Lucania resta notizia in una nota marginale del *Vat. gr.* 1673, f. 328v (P. BATIFFOL, *L'Abbaye de Rossano. Contribution à l'histoire de la Vaticane*, Paris 1891, pp. 86-87 ; S. LUCÀ, *Attività scrittoria e culturale a Rossano : da s. Nilo a s. Bartolomeo da Simeri (secoli X-XII)*, in *Atti del Congresso Internazionale su S. Nilo di Rossano*, cit., p. 40 e n. 70).

(41) Cf. S. CARUSO, *Michele IV Paflagone in una fonte agiografica italogreca*, in AA.VV., *Studi Albanologici, Balcanici, Bizantini e Orientali in onore di Giuseppe Valentini, S.J.* , Firenze 1986, pp. 261-267 ; *Filareto*, pp. 91-99.

fonte che lo tramandi ; non si può, tuttavia, negare ad esso *a priori*, a prescindere ovviamente dalle numerose e topiche suggestioni veterotestamentarie e dal miracoloso fulgore che circonfonde il cavallo del Santo – che potrebbe comunque essere agìaca trasposizione di un qualche espediente strategico –, funzionali tuttavia alla riproposizione sovrastrutturale della ideologia agìaca e monastica, ogni verisimiglianza. Di certo, esso costituisce un *unicum* nell'agiografia storica italo-greca che, in quanto tale, conferirebbe un «tono realistico» alla biografia di Luca (42), al pari di altri elementi pur ravvisabili nel *bìos*, quali la trasfigurazione agìaca dell'effettiva e concreta attività medica di Luca, che curava i malati con impiastri e cataplasmi, pur concludendo con la rituale preghiera (43), o il riconoscimento che non sempre l'intervento terapeutico-taumaturgico sortiva la guarigione, pur migliorando la qualità della vita, anzi della morte, dei degenti (44), ovvero – ancora – il caso del monaco dispensiere poco onesto nel distribuire i viveri in occasione di una carestia che aveva colpito «totam Marsorum Provinciam», sostituito su due piedi da Luca, perché «pretium pro eleëmosynarum erogatione quodam die recepisset» (45). Quanto poi alla sua cronologia, poiché esso si colloca, nell'esposizione (che in questo filone agiografico segue di norma l'ordine cronologico), dopo la calata in Italia meridionale di Ottone I del 968-969 e prima della morte di Luca nel 984, e poiché apparirebbe un po' troppo tarda la datazione attorno al 982 (46), anno dell'ulteriore calata nel meridione d'Italia di Ottone II e della sua sconfitta ad opera dei Saraceni presso Crotone il 13 luglio (47), anche per via della ferita cronica alle

(42) Cf. Acconcia Longo, p. 137.

(43) Cf. *bìos*, p. 341AB, § 9, e *Sicilia e Calabria*, p. 585 n. 104.

(44) Cf. *ibid.*, p. 580 nn. 65-66, e *bìos*, pp. 340F-341A, § 12, dove si narra che [dopo la battaglia coi Saraceni] un «tam gravis morbus» investì le comunità monastiche di Luca. E' questa pestilenza, da datare probabilmente attorno al 976, la medesima di cui si parla, con una certa dovizia di dettagli sia clinici che di cronaca, nel *bìos* di Saba, p. 19, § *I'* ?

(45) *Bìos*, p. 338D, § 7.

(46) L'ipotesi è prospettata da Acconcia Longo, p. 135.

(47) Cf. *ibid.* Anche questa è registrata, però come vittoria del *βασιλέως τῶν Φράγκων* (ma cf. Von Falkenhausen, *op. cit.*, pp. 64 e n. 101, 53, 86, 105), nella *Cronaca siculo-saracena*, p. 340, nr. 61, *ad an. 982/6490 (Ind. 10) Juli 13* : *ἔτει ,ϛυϙ΄ ἐσφάγη ὁ Βολκάσιμος, ἀμηρᾶς Σικελίας, ὑπὸ τοῦ βασιλέως τῶν Φράγκων καὶ ἐγένετο κατασφαγὴ τῶν Σαρακηνῶν πολλὴ ἐν τῇ τῶν Καλαβρῶν χώρᾳ*. Sulla localizzazione della battaglia presso *Columna Regia* cf.,

gambe che rese Luca claudicante per tre anni ([48]) verso e, forse, fino al termine della vita – e se fosse stato tale al tempo della battaglia l'agiografo non avrebbe mancato di rimarcarlo –, è probabile che l'episodio di croce e gladio abbia avuto luogo attorno al 976, anno della spedizione in Calabria dell'emiro Abû al-Qâsim già ricordata ([49]), richiamata forse anche nel *bìos* di Nilo da Rossano, che produsse un altro sconvolgimento generale in quella regione e forse costrinse, fra l'altro, Nilo, assieme all'ideale della *ξενιτεία*, a migrare verso il 980 in Campania, allorché *ἐξελέξατο τὴν μετὰ τῶν Λατίνων ἀναστροφήν* ([50]).

Ma se l'avventura bellica di Luca rimane un *unicum*, non altrettanto può dirsi dello spirito epico che la informa e che ne sta alla base ; che anzi esso percorre tutto quanto questo filone agiografico – ed è emblematica, al riguardo, l'altissima frequenza, sia pure non esclusiva, di metafore o termini metaforici militari che vi ricorrono e che sembrano riportare ad una sorta di "ideologia stratiotica" della professione monastica ([51]),

di recente, D. ALVERMANN, *La battaglia di Ottone II contro i Saraceni nel 982*, ASCL, 62 (1995), pp. 115-130.

(48) Cf. *bìos*, p. 341CD, § 14, con un altro riferimento veterotestamentario a Giobbe. L'accenno alla menomazione fisica è peraltro, nell'esposizione, successivo all'episodio bellico e figura nel terzultimo paragrafo.

(49) Sulla quale cf. F. BURGARELLA, *Dalle origini al Medioevo*, in *Cosenza. Storia, cultura, economia*, Soveria Mannelli 1991, p. 41 ; ACCONCIA LONGO, p. 135 ; *Sicilia e Calabria*, pp. 579-580 e n. 63. E per gli anni 976-977 sono registrati almeno due attacchi saraceni contro la Calabria nella *Cronaca siculo-saracena*, p. 339, nr. 57, *ad an. 976/6484 (Ind. 4) Früjahr* : *ἔτους ,ϛυπδ΄ ἐπέρασαν οἱ Σαρακηνοὶ εἰς Καλαβρίαν καὶ ἐπίασαν τὸ Πιτζίνον* ; nr. 58, *ad an. 976 Sept.-977 Aug./6485 (Ind. 5)* : *ἔτους ,ϛυπε΄ παρελήφθη ἐκ δευτέρου ἡ ἁγία Ἀγάθη*.

(50) *Βίος καὶ πολιτεία τοῦ ὁσίου πατρὸς ἡμῶν Νείλου τοῦ Νέου*, a cura di G. GIOVANELLI, Badia di Grottaferrata 1972, p. 112, c. 72, e *supra*, n. 32. Risale probabilmente a questa circostanza la cattura, con la successiva liberazione senza riscatto, dei tre monaci idioritmici discepoli di Nilo narrata a pp. 110-111, cc. 70-71.

(51) Emblematica, al riguardo, la descrizione della vestizione monastica – marcatamente improntata sulle lettere paoline e piena di simbologia stratiotica – di Filareto ad opera dell'egumeno Oreste al monastero di S. Elia il Giovane alle Saline verso il 1048-50, che ritorna in forma più concisa e schematica nel *bìos* di Nicodemo, pp. 98-100, ll. 99-115, attribuito anch'esso a Nilo monaco nel *Messan. gr.* 30, già pubblicata dalla ARCO MAGRÌ, pp. 32-34, cui si rimanda. Ma cf. anche il *bìos* di Cristoforo e Macario, p. 77, § *Δ΄*, come pure il *bìos* di Elia il Giovane, p. 54, ll. 721-725.

nonché la fortuna e il diffuso culto dell'arcangelo Michele, ma anche del grande santo martire Eustrazio ([52]), e i frequenti richiami veterotestamentarî, che, a differenza di quelli neotestamentarî, erano funzionali a tale ideologia ([53]) – ; e, anche se viene risolto in chiave spirituale, nondimeno, ancorato com'è alla realtà storica, esso conferisce al filone cemento ideologico, facendone oggettivamente, pur nella varietà di tempi luoghi e situazioni, un autentico *corpus*. A parte, infatti, i collegamenti che si possono cogliere, sia sincronicamente che diacronicamente, tra i diversi santi e tra i loro *bìoi* ([54]), il motivo epico antisaraceno costituisce il vero filo

(52) Il culto micaelico è attestato in Sicilia, presso Agira (*bìos* di Saba, p. 8, § *Γ'* ; *bìos* di Cristoforo e Macario, p. 73, § *B'*, p. 74, § *Γ'*, p. 78, § *E'*) ; al Mercurion, in Calabria settentrionale (ancora *bìos* di Saba, p. 14, § *Z'*, p. 33, § *IΘ'*, e *bìos* di Cristoforo e Macario, p. 83, § *I'*, p. 87, § *IΔ'* ; *bìos* di Nilo, p. 61, c. 13) ; a Valleluce, presso Montecassino (*ibid.*, p. 113, c. 73) ; al Gargano, in Puglia (*ibid.*, p. 128, c. 91) ; a Kellàrana, in Calabria meridionale (*bìos* di Nicodemo, p. 100, ll. 129-131). Per Eustrazio si rimanda al *ναὸν τοῦ ἁγίου μεγάλου μάρτυρος Εὐστρατίου πλησίον τοῦ χωρίου τοῦ λεγομένου τῶν Ἁρμων* del *bìos* di Elia Speleota, pp. 854F-855A, § 16, 860F, § 31, 862D, § 35. Cf. inoltre per il culto micaelico B. CAPPELLI, *Il monachesimo basiliano ai confini calabro-lucani*, Napoli 1963, *passim*, e, di recente, A. M. ORSELLI, *Santità militare e culto dei santi militari nell'impero dei Romani (secoli VI-X)*, Bologna 1993, in part. pp. 8-13 (a p. 5 Eustrazio).

(53) Significativo, in merito, CECAUMENO, *Raccomandazioni e consigli di un galantuomo (Στρατηγικόν)*, a cura di M. D. SPADARO, Alessandria 1998, p. 88, c. 54 : *σχεδὸν γὰρ πᾶσα ἡ Παλαιὰ στρατηγικά εἰσιν*. Si vedano anche le citazioni veterotestamentarie di due passi del *bìos* di Elia il Giovane richiamati *infra*, n. 76.

(54) Così Elia il Giovane e il discepolo Daniele vengono messi in scena o citati nel *bìos* di Elia Speleota (pp. 850E, § 6, 861AB, §§ 31-33, 862E-863B, §§ 36-38, 870EF, § 55, e 879B, § 76, col riferimento alla *μνήμη* dell'Ennese), il quale sembra conoscesse (come pure il suo agiografo) il *bìos* del primo Elia (*χώρα Σαλινῶν*, nn. 102 e 139) e viene a sua volta menzionato a due riprese nel *bìos* del discepolo Luca da Dèmena (pp. 337F, § 3, e 338E, § 8), che fu fonte primaria per il biografo dello Speleota (*supra*, n. 22) e il cui agiografo dimostra di conoscere il *bìos* dello stesso Speleota (*Elia Speleota*, p. 45 n. 101) ; Luca, nel cui *bìos* figura altresì Saba (*supra*, n. 35), entra a sua volta in scena nel *bìos* di Vitale (p. *28C, § 8). Entrambi gli Elia sono poi ricordati, insieme una volta, lo Speleota da solo due, nel *bìos* di Nicodemo (pp. 110, l. 235, 114, l. 266, 118, l. 323), mentre solo l'Ennese è citato assieme al suo *bìos* più volte in quello di Filareto (*Filareto*, pp. 101 e n. 36, 110 e n. 72, 115-116, 117 e n. 96) e la *μνήμη* dello Speleota è menzionata nel *bìos* di Luca vescovo (p. 88, ll. 113-114). Inoltre ben cinque asceti, siciliani (Leo-Luca, Cristoforo e Saba, Luca da Dèmena e Vitale), transitano dal monastero di S. Filippo di Agira prima di approdare in

conduttore, il *Leitmotiv* di tale filone ([55]) ; cosicché all'astrattezza del diavolo, maligno invidioso tentatore, dell'antica agiografia bizantina subentra, ora e quivi, la concretezza del saraceno, il nuovo diavolo, l'anticristo, il nero *Αἰθίοψ* di alcune agiografie ([56]), il «nemico di altra razza», *ὁ ἀλλόφυλος*, di qualche altra ([57]), ricorrentemente «Agareno» (o «discendente di Agar», quindi geneticamente "schiavo") ([58]), spesso «Ismaelita»

Calabria e, poi, in Lucania (*supra*, n. 19 e contesto) ; e al Mercurion, al quale sembra alludere un passo del *bìos* di Elia il Giovane (*χώρα Σαλινῶν*, nn. 118-120 e contesto) e dove dimorano per un certo tempo prima Leo-Luca, poi Cristoforo coi figli Saba e Macario e la moglie Calì, si ferma a lungo, in contemporanea con questi ultimi senza tuttavia incontrarsi, anche Nilo da Rossano, mentre i due Elia prima e Filareto poi illustrano la *χώρα Σαλινῶν*, da dove transita, al tempo dello Speleota, Luca da Dèmena e da cui saranno, in seguito, oriundi prima Nicodemo, quindi Luca vescovo. Da Rossano proviene poi, oltre a Nilo, anche il suo discepolo Bartolomeo di Grottaferrata (*BHG* 233 ; G. Giovanelli, *S. Bartolomeo Juniore confondatore di Grottaferrata*, Badia Greca di Grottaferrata 1962) e nei suoi paraggi fiorirà, fino all'età normanna come già Luca vescovo, l'ultimo grande astro del firmamento agìaco italo-greco, Bartolomeo da Simeri. Fuori da questo reticolo rimangono la problematica figura di Giovanni Theristes e l'ultimo, tardivo epigono della tradizione agìaca italogreca, Cipriano di Calamizzi (*BHG* 2089 ; G. Schirò, *Vita inedita di S. Cipriano di Calamizzi. Dal cod. Sinaitico n. 522*, BBGG, n.s. 4 [1950], pp. 63-97).

(55) Cf., in part., *Filareto*, p. 118, e *Sicilia e Calabria*, pp. 601-602, nonché Follieri, p. 95 ; ma già l'Amari, pp. 371-375 e *passim*, come pure il Gay, pp. 254-286 e *passim*, avevano rilevato la sostanziale attendibilità storica di questo filone agiografico.

(56) Significativi, al riguardo, due passi del *bìos* di Nilo : p. 51, c. 5 :...*ἰδοὺ πλῆθος Σαρακινῶν ἐκ δεξιῶν ἀνακεκλιμένων ὑπὸ τὸ ἄλσος, μελάνων Αἰθιόπων, ἀγριοφθάλμων, κακοπροσώπων καὶ πάντων* [*an πάντως corr.* ?] *δαίμοσι προσεοικότων* (qui Nilo ne sperimenta una inattesa generosità, come avverrà pure nell'episodio dei tre monaci idioritmici [*supra*, n. 50] deportati dai Saraceni a Palermo e liberati dall'emiro, che rifiuta il prezzo del riscatto, senza però che tutto ciò muti il giudizio su di loro di Nilo o – almeno – dell'agiografo) ; p. 70, c. 23 :...*φαίνεται αὐτῷ* [Nilo] *ὁ διάβολος ὀφθαλμοφανῶς ὡς Αἰθίοψ*...Si vedano inoltre l'*Αἰθίοψ* del *bìos* dello Speleota, p. 865C, § 44, e gli *Aethiopes...nigerrimi* del *bìos* di Luca da Dèmena, p. 341A, § 12.

(57) Cf. *Filareto*, p. 97 n. 24. Il termine, riferito sempre ai Saraceni, ricorre anche nel documento redatto da Luca II, abate del monastero di Carbone in Lucania, prima della sua partenza, nel 1059, per la Terra Santa (Acconcia Longo, 139) ; figura, altresì, nel *bìos* di Elia il Giovane, p. 66, l. 882, riferito però ai Filistei.

(58) *Ἀγαρηνός*, coi suoi derivati e affini (*Ἄγαρ ἀπόγονοι, Ἄγαρ γόνοι, Ἀγαρηνῶν παῖδες, Ἀγαρηνὸν ἔθνος*), è così frequente che non mette conto

(perciò costituzionalmente "figlio di schiava") ([59]), frequentemente «barbaro» ([60]) : termini tutti, come si vede, a marcata valenza ideologica ([61]).

Con lo sbarco dei Musulmani a Mazara il 17 giugno 827 ([62]) si era infatti aperto, dopo quello orientale in Asia Minore e l'altro occidentale in Spagna, un terzo fronte nel confronto fra mondo islamico ed ecumene cristiana : e questo, prima ancora che strategico e territoriale, più ancora che politico ed economico, era un confronto religioso e culturale ([63]). Tale fronte, di cui mostra consapevolezza storico-strategica Skylitzes, laddove ricorda che [nel 917-918] *συνιδόντες οὖν οἱ κρατοῦντες* [Costantino VII Porfirogenito e sua madre Zoe Carbonopsina] *ὡς οὐχ οἷοί τέ εἰσι*

richiamare esempi. Può, invece, risultare più utile riportare tre passi particolarmente significativi sotto il profilo ideologico : *bìos* di Vitale, p. *33, § 23 : «...de Sicilia...venerunt immundi & spurcissimi Agareni totam terram depraedantes & deuastantes, *trahentes filij Ancillae filios Liberae in seruitutem*» ; *bìos* di Saba, pp. 37-38, § *KB'* :...*τὴν Καλαβρίαν πάλιν οἱ τῆς Ἄγαρ γόνοι καταλαβόντες, ἀδελφὰ τοῖς προτέροις ἀνομήμασι διεπράττοντο, οἷς μὲν ἡβηδὸν ἀναιροῦντες, οὓς δὲ πρὸς δούλιον ἄγοντες ζυγόν, οἱ μᾶλλον τούτῳ καθυποβάλλεσθαι ἄξιοι* ; *bìos* di Cristoforo e Macario, p. 81, § *H'* : *Διά τοι τοῦτο τὴν πᾶσαν νῆσον τῶν Σικελιωτῶν καταδηοῦντες ἐληΐζοντο καὶ ἐλυμαίνοντο, τοὺς μὲν ἀφειδῶς κτέννοντες, τοὺς δὲ καὶ δορυκτήτους λαμβάνοντες, εἰς ζυγὸν δουλείας ἦγον οἱ δοῦλοι τῆς ἁμαρτίας.*

(59) Undici occorrenze nel *bìos* di Elia il Giovane, tre in quello di Elia Speleota, sette in quello di Saba, due in quello di Cristoforo e Macario.

(60) Tre occorrenze nel *bìos* di Elia il Giovane, cinque in quello di Vitale, due nel *bìos* di Nilo, otto in quello del Theristes, tre in quello di Filareto.

(61) Ecco ancora altri termini, etnonimi attributi epiteti, riferiti a Saraceni : *Ἀραβικὸν ἔθνος, Ἀφρικανοί, Ἄφρος* ; *ἀγνώμονες, ἄγριοι, ἄθεοι, ἀλλόκοτοι, αἱμοβόροι, ἀκάθαρτος, ἀλάστορες, ἀλιτήριοι, ἀμύητοι, ἀναιδής, ἄνομος, ἀπειθεῖς, ἄπιστοι, ἀσεβεῖς, ἀφρονέστατος, βέβηλοι, γηγενεῖς, ἐχθροί, ἔχθιστοι, θεομάχοι, θεοστυγεῖς, θεράπων τοῦ Σατανᾶ*, hostes, immundi, impii, *μάταιοι, μιαιφόνοι, μιαρός, μοχθηροί, μυσαρός, νοθεῖς, νόθοι, παγανοί, πανέχθιστοι, πολέμιοι*, spurcissimi ; *ἔχιδναι, λέοντες, ὄφεις, σκορπίοι*, tutti a forte valenza ideologica.

(62) Cf. AMARI, pp. 395 e 397 con n. 2, dove viene spiegata la discordanza di data fra i cronisti arabi e la *Cronaca siculo-saracena*, p. 331, nr. 1, *ad an. 827/6335 (Ind. 5) Juli 15* : *ἔτους ,ϛτλε' ἦλθον οἱ Σαρακηνοὶ εἰς Σικελίαν, μηνὶ Ἰουλίῳ ιε', ἰνδικτιῶνος ε'*. Cf. anche SCHREINER, II, p. 96.

(63) Significativo, in merito, il passo del *bìos* di Elia il Giovane riportato *supra*, n. 9, come pure l'episodio, narrato in quello dello Speleota, pp. 871C-872E, §§ 59-60, della guarigione "a distanza" dell'*ἄρχων τῶν λίαν περιφανῶν καὶ ἐνδόξων, τοὔνομα Γαυδιόσος*, operata dal Santo per impedire che fosse risanato dai medici arabi a Palermo.

πρός τε τοὺς ἑῴους Σαρακηνοὺς καὶ πρὸς τοὺς ἑσπερίους ἀντέχειν, ἤδη καὶ τῶν Βουλγάρων τὰς σπονδὰς λελυκότων, σπείσασθαι ἐγνώκεισαν μετὰ τῶν ἐν Σικελίᾳ Σαρακηνῶν, per cui *ἐγένοντο οὖν σύμφωνα δι' Εὐσταθίου στρατηγοῦ Καλαβρίας...ἐφ' ᾧ δασμὸν ἐτήσιον δίδοσθαι τοῖς Σαρακηνοῖς χρυσίου χιλιάδας δύο ἐπὶ εἴκοσι* (64), si sarebbe poi man mano andato spostando sempre più verso est con la conquista nell'878 di Siracusa (65), che poneva di fatto fine al tema di Sicilia, quindi di Taormina [prima nel 902, poi, definitivamente, nel 962 (66)], per attestarsi infine, dopo la sconfitta di Manuele Foca nel 964 e la caduta di Rometta (67), ultima roccaforte bizantina in Sicilia, nel 965, sullo stretto di Messina, che così, oltre a dividere geograficamente la Sicilia dal continente, assurge a metafora ideologica dell'abisso che separa due mondi : quello cristiano, che si ferma in Calabria, e quello musulmano, che arriva in Sicilia ; e ne mostra una chiara percezione, nel x s., il medesimo Costantino VII, quando afferma, usando una terminologia religiosa al posto di quella istituzionale, che la Sicilia, ormai perduta per Bisanzio, è dominata *παρὰ τῶν ἀθέων Σαρακηνῶν*, mentre di fronte la *Καλαβρία κρατεῖται παρὰ τῶν Χριστιανῶν* (68).

(64) P. 263. Sulla testimonianza cf. anche LAMMA, pp. 292-293.

(65) Registrata laconicamente nella *Cronaca siculo-saracena*, p. 333, nr. 22, *ad an. 878/6386 (Ind. 11) Mai 21* : *ἔτους ,ϛτπϛ΄ ἐγένετο ἡ ἅλωσις τῆς Συρακούσης, μηνὶ μαΐῳ κα΄, ἰνδικτιῶνος ια΄.*

(66) Cf. *ibid.*, p. 336, nr. 37, *ad an. 902/6410 (Ind. 5) Aug. 1* : (cod. V) *ἔτους ,ϛυι΄ ἐπέρασεν ὁ μέγας ἀμηρᾶς ἀπ"Αφρικὴν καὶ ἐστράτευσεν πάντας τοὺς Σικελοὺς ἅμα τῶν 'Αφρίκων καὶ παρέλαβεν τὸ Ταυρομένιο, μηνὶ αὐγούστῳ α΄, ἰνδικτιῶνος θ΄* (!) ; (cod. P) *ἔτει ,ϛυι΄ ἐπέρασεν ὁ 'Αφρικῆς ὁ Βραχήμος καὶ ἐπίασεν τὸ Ταυρομένιν* (l'evento è ricordato anche nel *bìos* di Elia il Giovane, pp. 74-82, cc. 49-53) ; nonché p. 338, nr. 52, *ad an. 962/6471 (Ind. 6) Dez. 25* : (cod. V) *ἔτους ,ϛυοα΄ παρελήφθη ἐκ δευτέρου τὸ Ταυρομένιν* ; (cod. P) *ἔτει ,ϛυοα΄ ἐγένετο ἡ ἅλωσις τοῦ Ταυρομενίου.*

(67) Registrata anch'essa *ibid.*, p. 339, nr. 54, *ad an. 965/6473 (Ind. 8) Mai* : (cod. V) *ἔτους ,ϛυογ΄ παρελήφθησαν τὰ 'Ρήματα, μηνὶ μαΐῳ* ; (cod. P) *ἔτει ,ϛ<υ>ογ΄ ἐγένετο ἡ ἅλωσις τῶν 'Ερυμάτων, μηνὶ μαΐῳ* (Rometta è menzionata come luogo di transito anche nel *bìos* di Saba, p. 14, § ϛ΄, e in quello di Cristoforo e Macario, p. 82, § Θ΄). E sempre *ibid.*, nr. 55, sotto lo stesso anno : (cod. V) *ἐν δὲ τῷ αὐτῷ μηνί, τοῦ αὐτοῦ χρόνου, ἐτράπη Νικηφόρος ὁ μάγιστρος, καὶ τὸ πλόϊμον* ; (cod. P) *ἐν δὲ τῷ ἰουλίῳ ἐτράπησαν τὰ χελάνδια τῶν Χριστιανῶν* [termine significativo sotto il profilo ideologico : cf. anche *supra*, n. 27, e *infra*, n. 68 e contesto] *εἰς τὸ 'Ρίγιον καὶ ὁ Νικηφόρος ὁ μάγιστρος*, con discordanza riguardo al mese.

(68) *De them.*, II,10, p. 96 PERTUSI.

Realizzata infatti l'occupazione stanziale della Sicilia, il mondo musulmano vi trovava una base a partire dalla quale poteva chiudere in una morsa sia la cristianità orientale con Bisanzio ([69]) che quella occidentale con Roma. Prendeva così il via, nonostante la breve moratoria imposta nel 956 dalla spedizione di Mariano Argiro, ricordata nel libro VI del *Teofane continuato*, oltreché da Skylitzes e dalla *Cronaca siculo-saracena* ([70]), ma di cui non sembra restare eco nell'agiografia storica italo-greca, la serie di attacchi, spesso quasi annuali, particolarmente intensi proprio nella seconda metà del s. x, in concomitanza con le complesse vicissitudini della citata *δασμοφορία* annuale che Bisanzio si era impegnata a pagare sin dal 918 e di cui traccia una sorta di storia retrospettiva Skylitzes a proposito della genesi della spedizione di Manuele Foca ([71]) ; attacchi portati dai Musulmani di Sicilia, non di rado in collaborazione con quelli della dirimpettaia Africa, prima contro la superstite Sicilia bizantina, quindi contro il continente, la Calabria in specie, di cui una rappresentazione, laconica sì, ma efficace nella sua scansione cronologica, è data dalla medesima *Cronaca siculo-saracena* ([72]), ma anche dallo stesso Skylitzes ([73]), e i cui effetti angosciosi e devastanti per le

(69) Emblematico il disegno attribuito all'emiro aglabita Ibrâhîm ibn Ahmad (875-902) nel *bìos* di Elia il Giovane, p. 82, ll. 1121-1124 : *Ὁ τὴν Κωνσταντινούπολιν καταλήψεσθαι κἀκεῖ τελευτᾶν οἰωνιζόμενος Βράχιμος, τῇ εὐχῇ τοῦ δικαίου* [Elia] *καταβληθείς, ἐν Κωνσταντίᾳ τῆς Ἰταλίας* [Cosenza] *δεινῶς τετελεύτηκεν*. Le testimonianza, sfuggita a LAMMA, pp. 288-290, che però riporta, a p. 285, quella parecchio affine di Giovanni Diacono degli *Acta translationis Sancti Severini*, è invece valorizzata da BURGARELLA, pp. 38-41.

(70) Cf. rispettivamente p. 454 BEKKER ; pp. 266-267 THURN ; p. 338, nr. 51 SCHREINER, *ad an. 956/6464 (Ind. 14) Früjhar-Sommer (?)* : *ἔτους ,ϛυξδ΄ κατῆλθεν ὁ Μαριανὸς πατρίκιος ἐν Καλαβρίᾳ καὶ ἐγένετο ἀγάπη*. Senonché questa *ἀγάπη* non portò all'eliminazione della *δασμοφορία*, se Niceforo Foca se la ritrova fra i piedi al momento della sua ascesa al trono nel 963, per cui, ritenendola la peggiore delle sventure, lui che nel 961 aveva riconquistato Creta, invia la spedizione siciliana del 964, come un tempo – si può qui aggiungere – *ὁ δὲ Ἰουστῖνος ἔλυσε τὴν εἰρήνην φάσκων ἐπονείδιστον εἶναι φορολογεῖσθαι ὑπὸ τῶν Περσῶν τοὺς Ῥωμαίους* (Teofane, p. 245, 22-23 DE BOOR).

(71) Pp. 261-267 ; cf. anche *supra*, nn. 19, 37, 65 e contesto.

(72) Si veda, pp. 338-340, nr. 50-63, la fitta serie di attacchi saraceni contro la Calabria nel corso, soprattutto, della seconda metà del sec. X.

(73) Cf. pp. 265-266, c. 6, dove narra che, prima della spedizione di Malakinòs del 951-952, una volta risolta la guerra civile fra i Saraceni d'Africa, i *Καρχηδόνιοι* chiedevano la consegna dei disertori saraceni che si erano messi

popolazioni trovano espressione, nei loro aspetti più elementari ed esistenziali, proprio nei *bìoi* dei nostri santi asceti, in quello di Saba da Collesano in particolare, dove il tema della fame indotta dal ricorrente stato di guerra assume connotati particolarmente tragici : «Senonché questa realtà non riuscì tollerabile al demonio invidioso – narra infatti l'agiografo, Oreste patriarca di Gerusalemme, riferendosi all'esistenza ascetica dei suoi eroi –, né sopportò di veder splendere così la virtù di quegli uomini ; per cui, insinuatosi nei sanguinari Ismaeliti, tramite loro si affrettò ad involvere in travagli i santi. Così quelli fecero una spedizione contro tutta la regione [Sicilia] e saccheggiavano tutto quanto c'era, per cui una fame acerbissima piombò non soltanto su quanti risiedevano in città, ma anche su coloro che abitavano fra i monti. Cosicché era dato assistere a una tragedia tremenda che metteva in ombra ogni sorta di sventura. Ché molti cristiani in quel frangente si cibarono delle carni dei diletti figli ; e non ripugnò ai denti paterni fare quanto era stato osato un tempo dal popolo dei Giudei, quando pagarono il fio del cristicidio. Ma anche i figli assaggiarono la carne degli sventurati genitori e i fratelli dei fratelli ; e neppure le donne rimasero allora immuni dalla tremenda prova, ché anch'esse riempirono il ventre dei loro uomini. Imperando la fame – conclude Oreste, con un afflato cosmico venato di poesia –, anche la natura si volgeva contro se stessa e si cibava di sé ; così un tale scempio vide il sole in quelle plaghe» (74).

E in questo ricorrente clima di guerra quasi permanente e di instabilità, che si protrarrà fino all'instaurazione della signoria normanna in Italia meridionale e Sicilia e alla conseguente stabilizzazione, col suo strascico di violenze, deportazioni, devastazioni, carestie, epidemie e sofferenze di ogni genere, cui spesso non sono estranei gli stessi eserciti bizantini (75),

sotto la protezione di Bisanzio e il pagamento, interrotto durante la guerra civile, della *δασμοφορία*, ma, poiché non ricevevano soddisfazione, *διέλυσαν τὴν εἰρήνην, καὶ περαιούμενοι καθ'ἑκάστην τὴν Καλαβρίαν ἐδήουν* ; p. 266, c. 8 : *τούτου δὲ διερρυηκότος* [l'anno di tregua, cioè, stipulato dopo la sconfitta di Malakinòs] *πάλιν διαπερῶντες ἐλεηλάτουν τοὺς Καλαβρούς*. Appare dunque forse un po' improprio parlare di «sbrigativo ragionamento di Skilitzes» (LAMMA, p. 311).

(74) Cf. *bìos*, pp. 13-14, §§ *Ε'-ς'*, con riferimento alla Sicilia negli anni attorno al 940. Il tema della fame ricorre, ancora, nel *bìos* di Luca da Dèmena (*supra*, n. 45 e contesto) e, per la Calabria fra XI e XII secolo, nel *bìos* di Bartolomeo da Simeri, pp. 820-821, § 26.

(75) Alla testimonianza di Skylitzes riferita alla Calabria del tempo (*supra*, n. 29) se ne può aggiungere una più generale di CECAUMENO, p. 82, c. 46, che così

come documenta il *bìos* di Elia il Giovane ([76]), e che registra la più intensa fioritura di santità italo-greca proprio nel corso della seconda metà del

dice all'interlocutore a proposito dei danni derivanti dalla guerra al proprio stesso territorio : *συλλογίσθητι γὰρ τὰς καινοτομίας τῆς χώρας σου τὰς ἐκ τῶν ἐναντίων καὶ τὰς ἀπὸ τοῦ ἡμετέρου στρατοῦ* ; e un'altra, anch'essa generale, di Teofane, p. 500, 26-28 De Boor : *καὶ ἦν βαρβαρικῆς ἐφόδου βαρυτέρα ἡ τῶν ὁμοφύλων πληθὺς ἀπορουμένων εἰς τὰς ἀναγκαίας χρείας καὶ ἁρπαγαῖς καὶ ἐπιβάσεσι λυμαινομένων τοὺς ἐγχωρίους*. Ma già Procopio nella *Guerra Gotica*, III, 9, aveva accennato alle angherie perpetrate dai militari sui sudditi italiani, e ancora Skylitzes, pp. 262-263, richiama le precauzioni assunte dal generale Niceforo Foca all'atto dell'imbarco a Brindisi di ritorno in Oriente nell'886 per impedire ai soldati di portar via schiavi clandestinamente sudditi italici, i quali per gratitudine dedicarono al grande stratega un tempio a perenne memoria della sua virtù.

(76) Significativi i due passi seguenti, che presi in sé potrebbero sembrare genericamente moralistici, anzi topici, ma che assumono una precisa valenza storica e sociale se correlati con le testimonianze dei tre autori bizantini sopra citati. Nel primo, pp. 64-66, ll. 874-886, accennato anche da Lamma, p. 288, il Santo, rispondendo a Michele [Charaktos ?], *ὁ τηνικαῦτα καταλαβὼν τοῦ νηΐτου στόλου ἄρχων*, che prima della battaglia gli aveva mandato a chiedere – ancora un riecheggiamento veterotestamentario – se avrebbe avuto la meglio sui Saraceni, gli manda a dire : «*Εἰ βούλῃ, προσφιλέστατε, τῶν πολεμίων περιγενέσθαι καὶ κατὰ κράτος αὐτοὺς νικῆσαι, ἄγνιζε τὸν λαόν σου κατὰ τὴν τοῦ Θεοῦ πρὸς Μωϋσῆν παραγγελίαν* [*Exod.* 19,10]...*Ἤκουσας πάντως ὅτι πορνεία παρέδωκέ ποτε τὸν λαὸν τοῦ Θεοῦ τῷ ὀλέθρῳ καὶ πορνεία, συμπαραλαβοῦσα τὴν μέθην, τὸν γενναῖον Σαμψὼν τοῖς παιδαρίοις τῶν ἀλλοφύλων ἀπεκατέστησε παίγνιον* [*Jud.* 16,1ss.]. *Μὴ οὖν καταδέχου τούτους ἐν πορνείαις καὶ ἀσωτείαις διάγειν καὶ ἀδεῶς καταχραίνεσθαι ἐν τοῖς τοιούτοις μιάσμασι, καὶ...ὄψει νικωμένους τοὺς ἐχθρούς*» ; nel secondo, pp. 74-76, ll. 1016-1022, richiamato anch'esso, ma con qualche imprecisione, da Lamma, p. 289, al *πατρικίῳ Κωνσταντίνῳ* [Caramalo ?], poco prima dell'espugnazione saracena di Taormina il I agosto 902, il Santo, *παρρησιαστικώτερον ἐλέγχων, ἔλεγεν·* «*Ἀνάκοψον, ἄρχων, τὸν ὑπὸ σὲ λαὸν ἀπὸ τοῦ κακῶς πράττειν. Παυσάσθω κἂν τοῦ λοιποῦ ἀπὸ τῶν ἀθεμίτων ἀδικιῶν καὶ φόνων καὶ μοιχειῶν καὶ τῆς βδελυρᾶς καὶ ἀκαθάρτου πορνείας. Ὁ γὰρ πρὸς πόλεμον εὐτρεπιζόμενος ἐγκρατείας δεῖται πολλῆς τῶν τοιούτων· οὐδὲν γὰρ οὕτω ταπεινωτικὸν ὡς ἡ ἁμαρτία, οὐδὲ δυναμοποιὸν ὡς ἡ ἐγκράτεια*», e prosegue citando gli esempi di virtuosa continenza dei pagani Epaminonda e Scipione l'Africano. «*Εἰ οὖν* – continua quindi – *ἐκεῖνοι οἱ Ἕλληνες...οὕτω τῆς ἐγκρατείας ἀντείχοντο, πόσον ὀφείλομεν ἡμεῖς οἱ χριστιανοί...ἀπὸ πάσης αἰσχρᾶς πράξεως ἐγκρατεύεσθαι καὶ πάσης πλεονεξίας καὶ ἀδικίας ἀπέχεσθαι, καὶ μάλιστα ἐπὶ θύραις τῶν κακῶν ὄντων* ;». Ovviamente infatti *φόνοι*, *μοιχεῖαι*, *πορνεῖαι*, *αἰσχραὶ πράξεις*, *πλεονεξία* (*πλεονεκτοῦντες* in Skylitzes) e *ἀδικία*, esercitati sulle popolazioni locali, non potevano che aliena-

x s., quando più pesante si fa il martello saraceno, cos'altro è l'agiografia storica italo-greca se non l'epopea di questi santi asceti che, con la loro eroica azione, non solo svolgono opera di sostegno materiale, sociale, morale, ma soprattutto preservano il senso d'identità religiosa, ma anche etnica e culturale (77) ? Può, quindi, apparire peregrino che alla loro morte le popolazioni ne facessero oggetto di venerazione e di culto, innalzandoli agli onori degli altari, e ne volessero sentir narrare le gesta ? Letta in questa chiave, la piccola crociata di Luca da Dèmena poteva costituire una consolazione, sia pur magra, nello sconfortante panorama delle ripetute sconfitte subite dagli eserciti bizantini da parte dei Saraceni e una fiammella di speranza rivolta al domani.

Università degli Studi di Palermo. St. CARUSO.

re la loro simpatia e sostegno agli eserciti bizantini inviati per difenderle. Si veda anche la testimonianza sulle ruberie, le prepotenze e le spoliazioni *τῶν ὁμοφύλων* contenuta nel documento dell'abate di Carbone Luca II (*supra*, n. 57) e riportata da ACCONCIA LONGO, p. 139.

(77) Cf. A. GUILLOU, *Il monachesimo greco in Italia meridionale e in Sicilia nel Medioevo*, in *L'eremitismo in Occidente*...cit., in part. pp. 378-379.

PASSION TRIPTYCH FROM USHGULI (GEORGIA)

Among the numerous icons preserved in the churches of Ushguli, in Svaneti (highland region in Northwest Georgia) there is a remarkable example of Palaeologan icon painting – a small painted triptych with the scenes of the Passion of Christ clad in gilt silver (wood, tempera, gilt silver, niello). The triptych with open wings measures 25 × 16 cm, lateral wings – 16 × 12 cm, (fig. 1). The compositional structure of the icon, the stylistic features of the painting, its rich, saturated palette reveal the hand of a skilful painter. The central part of the triptych has a semicircular top. Correspondingly the lateral wings, attached with the central panel by a couple of hinges, have rounded upper edges. On the central part we see the Descent from the Cross, while on the right wing is depicted the Way to Calvary or the Carrying of the Cross. The icon is not preserved in its original form : the painting on the left wing is completely rubbed away and now only the bare wood remains. Paint losses are seen on other parts of the icon as well : on the lower part of the Virgin's stola, John's garments, the angels' half figures, etc. The silver revetment of the icon is also damaged : the left wing, with the exception of the strip at the lower area, is lost. A considerable part of the revetment on the "triumphal arch" of the central panel, and a fragment of Christ's halo on the right wing are missing too. The reveted reverse of the icon displays the repoussé Cross of Golgotha with the donors' inscription in ancient Georgian uncial script "Asomtavruli" around it. The ten-line inscription says : "Christ, who was crucified for us, Christ Our Lord, be an intercessor for our souls, who adorned your image Mechabalakhisdze Esona and for my spouse Barbare have mercy" (fig. 2). The donors mentioned here are not identified yet. Initially, an *asomtavruli* repoussé inscription was across the bottom of the central panel, on the strip beneath the Deposition as well, but now only few letters are left and unfortunately, it is impossible to reconstruct this text (1).

(1) Initially this was a two-line inscription, today only the fragments of few letters can be read : I, L in the first line and I, S in second line.

On the reverse of the wings the revetment outlines a halo and a spear ; evidently here were placed full-length images of warrior saints.

This triptych from Ushguli is mentioned almost in every publication of the end of the 19th and beginning of the 20th century dedicated to the antiquities of Svaneti (2). These publications are mainly travellers' notes with very general and superficial descriptions of the works of art. Thus this distinguished icon has not been studied and evaluated hitherto from art historical point of view.

On the central panel of the Ushguli triptych, against the Cross erected in the center, we see Joseph of Arimathea grasping by the waist the body of Christ (fig. 3). On Christ's right side stands the Virgin tenderly holding the right hand of her divine son, while on the left side is depicted, bending, John the Evangelist. In front of St. John, at the foot of the Cross, the tiny kneeling figure of Nicodemus is detaching Christ's nailed feet. On the spandrels of the central part are placed two half-figures of mourning angels.

The subject of the central panel of the triptych, Descent of Our Lord from the Cross, is described in the Gospels (Matthew, 27,57-59 ; Mark 16,43-47 ; Luke 23,50-55 ; John 19,38-40). We read that a rich man, Joseph of Arimathea, who was a disciple of Jesus, went to Pilate and begged for the body of crucified Christ. He took Christ down from the Cross, wrapped him and laid him in a new tomb. John the Evangelist mentions that Nicodemus assisted Joseph. According to numerous works of orthodox art, painters traditionally followed the narration of John, since Nicodemus is almost constantly present in this composition.

The Descent from the Cross appeared in the east christian art only from the 9th century (3) and from this time onwards this composition has

(2) D. BAKRADZE, *Svaneti, Zapiski Kavkazskogo otdelenia IRGO*, Tiflis, 1864, pp. 124-125, only mentions the "small triptych with gold revetment" and gives the inscription of the icon. P. UVAROVA, *Puteshestvie v Pshaviu, Xevsuretiu I Svanetiu, (Materiali po archeologii Kavkaza*, X), Moscow, 1904, pp. 124,127, describes the icon in a few words ; in the painting style she saw the influence of the western painting. Like other authors Ek. TAKAISHVILI, *Expedition in Lechkhumi and Svaneti of 1910*, Paris, 1937, pp. 140-141 (in Georgian), names the scenes and reads the inscription. At the same time, he is the first author who tries to define the time of the execution of the icon – he suggests 12th-13th c.

(3) One of the earliest surviving examples of this composition is a miniature of the Paris manuscript of the Homilies of Gregory Nazianzenus, *Paris Gr.* 510, A.D. 880- 886 (G. SCHILLER, *Ikonographie der Christlichen Kunst*, Gütersloh,

been introduced in cycles of manuscript illuminations and in the programs of church decorations, on icons and on ivories, etc. (4). We know several iconographic formulas of this scene depicting diverse moments of this episode of the sacred story. Scholars singled out the following versions of this composition : the early Byzantine type represents the beginning of the process, when the left hand of Christ is still nailed and Nicodemus tries with pliers to liberate his other hand. Joseph supports the body and Mary presses the right hand of the Saviour to her cheek, while

1968, II, fig. 548) See also frescoes of Tavşanlı Kilise, 912-939, Tokalı Kilise, 912-920. See G. MILLET, *Recherches sur l'iconographie de l'Evangile*, Paris, 1916, fig. 620, 497 ; C. JOLIVET LEVY, *La Cappadoce médiévale*, Paris, 2001, pp. 224-225.

(4) The central panel of an ivory triptych from the Dumbarton Oaks collection, second half of the 10th c. ; part of the ivory diptych from Hanover, mid. 10th c. ; *Gospel* of *Laurenziana* conv. soppr. 160, 10th c. ; the silver plaque from Shemokmedi, late 10th – early 11th c., Georgia ; the Hosios Loukas crypt murals, first half of the 11th c. ; the miniatures of the synaxarion of Zacharia Valashkherteli, 11th c. ; the ivory relief from Hildesheim, 12th c. ; a 12th c. icon from Lagurka, Svaneti ; the 12th c. *Gospels of Gelati* Q 908 and Jruchi II ; the *Berlin Gospel Ms. Gr.* qu. 66, before 1219 ; the Esztergome staurotheke, 1150-1200 ; etc. See K. WEITZMANN, *The Catalogue of the Byzantine and Early Medieval Antiquities in the Dumbarton Oaks Collection*, III, n° 27, pp. 65-69, Washington, 1972 ; MILLET, *op.cit.*, fig. 620, 505, 509, 495 ; A. GOLDSCHMIDT, K.WEITZMANN, *Die Byzantinischen Elfenbeinskulpturen des X-XIII Jahrundert*, II, Berlin, 1979, n° 83 ; G. CHUBINASHVILI, *Chekannoe Iskusstvo Gruzii*, Tbilisi, 1959, fig. 137 ; K. WEITZMANN, G. ALIBEGASHVILI and others, *Le Icone*, Milan, 1981, p.109 ; N. CHATZIDAKIS, *Hosios Loukas*, Athens, 1997, fig. 82 ; G. ALIBEGASHVILI, *Xudojestveni princip illustrirovania gruzinskoi rukopisnoi knigi XI-nachala XIII veka*, Tbilisi, 1973, p. 42, fig.18 ; T. VELMANS, *La peinture murale byzantine à la fin du Moyen Age*, I (*Bibliothèque des Cahiers Archéologiques*) Paris, 1977, fig. 116, 118 ; E. MACHAVARIANI, *Georgian Manuscripts*, Tbilisi, 1970, fig. 33 ; A. FROLOW, *Les reliquaires de la Vraie Croix*, *Archives de l'Orient Chrétien*, Paris, 1965, fig. 41. On the iconography of the Deposition see MILLET, *op. cit.*, pp. 467-483 ; E. SANDBERG-VAVALA, *La croce dipinta italiana e l'iconografia della Passione*, Verona, 1929, pp. 286-296 ; L. REAU, *Iconographie de l'art chrétien. Iconographie de la Bible*, II : *Nouveau Testament*, Paris, 1957, pp. 513-514 ; G. SCHILLER, *Ikonographie*, II, pp. 177-181 ; *Lexikon der Christlichen Ikonographie*, Rome - Basel - Vienna, 1970, pp. 650-654 ; see also : D. I. PALLAS, *Passion und Bestaltung Christi*, Munich, 1965 ; P. MILJKOVIĈ-PEPEK, *Une icône bilatérale au monastère Saint-Jean Prodrome dans les environs de Serres*, in *CA*, 16 (1966), pp. 177-184 ; E. PRIVALOVA, *Rospis Timotesubani*, Tbilisi, 1980, pp. 217-218, note 40, etc.

S. John stands motionless ([5]). A relatively later version defined as Anatolian shows a moment when John is inclined lower, to the feet of the Saviour and Nicodemus is detaching the nails from the Saviour's left hand ([6]) (fig. 4). The next version shows the further development of the event – John and Mary are symmetrically holding Christ's already liberated hands ([7]) (fig. 5). The last episode of the process represents Joseph on the ladder who embraces from above the un-nailed body of Christ ([8]) (Fig. 6). It should be noted that Byzantine and Western medieval art demonstrate diverse compositional solutions of each iconographic version of this Passion episode. They differ from each other by the number, arrangement and poses of the participants, as well as by depicting additional details (such as ladders or stools, etc.) ([9]). On the central part of the

(5) See the already mentioned 10th c. miniatures of the Florentine Gospels, *Laur. Conv. soppr.* 160 and *Laur.*, VI 23, 11th c. and 12th c. ; *Gelati Gospel* Q 908, 12th c., pp. 85, 217v ; the fresco of Betania, late 12th-early 13th c., Georgia, etc. See PRIVALOVA, *op. cit.*, pp. 80-81, fig. 31, 31a, see also : GOLDSCHMIDT and WEITZMANN, *op. cit.*, n° 22a, 23, 25, 127, etc., MILLET, *op. cit.*, fig. 494, 495, 496.

(6) Cfr the miniatures of the *Parma Gospel*, *Pallat.* 5, 12th c. ; Gospel from Freer Gallery, Washington, late 11th-early 12th c. ; Icon from Lagurka, Svaneti, 12th c. ; *Gelati Gospel*, 12th c., p. 138 ; the fresco of the refectory of the Patmos monastery of St. John Theologos, 13th c. : MILLET, *op. cit.*, fig. 496 ; A. SAMINSKY, *Neizvestnie Konstantinopolskie miniaturi nacjala Komninovskoi epokhi,* in *Muzei* 9, (1988) p. 188 ; E. KOLLIAS, *Patmos*, Athens, 1986, fig. 31.

(7) Cfr the murals of Photi, Crete, 12th c. ; Timotesubani, Georgia, late 12th-early 13th c., etc. : MILLET, *op. cit.*, fig. 499 ; PRIVALOVA, *op. cit.*, p. 80, fig. 31.

(8) Cfr the Hanover 10th c. and Hildesheim 11th c. ivory reliefs ; Hosios Loukas crypt fresco, early 11th c. ; miniatures of the synaxarion of Zacharia Valashkherteli, 11th c. ; Jruchi II, 12th c. ; fresco of Nerezi, AD 1164 ; Esztergome staurotheke, 1150-1200 ; miniature of the Berlin Gospel, before 1219 ; Gospels of *Iviron cod.* 5, last quarter of the 13th c. ; Zarzma frescoes, 14th c., Georgia. See V. LAZAREV, *Istoria vizantiiskoi zivopisi,* Moscow, 1980, pl. 309, 399 ; also the ivory reliefs in GOLDSCHMIDT and WEITZMANN, *op. cit.*, n° 40, 71, 211 b, 219, 220, 232.

(9) In some compositions only three participants are presented – crucified Christ, Joseph and Nicodemus : Cfr Tavşanlı Kilise, AD 912-939 ; Shemokmedi panel, early 11th c. ; ivory panel from Pesaro, 11th c. See MILLET, *op. cit.*, p. 468, fig. 620 ; GOLDSCHMIDT and WEITZMANN, *op. cit.*, n° 211b. Five-figure version is widespread in Byzantine art, while two Maries and a soldier are often added to this iconographic scheme as well (miniatures of the Gelati Gospels ; *Gospel Iviron* , cod. 5, last quarter of the 13th c. ; icon from the Stoclet collection, end of the 13th c. ; *Berlin Gospel, Ms. Grec.* Qu 66, before 1219 ; 11th c. ivory relieves from the Museo Bizantino in Ravenna, from Berlin and Constanza). See also the frescoes of S. Nicholas church in Prilep, AD 1298 ; St. George church of Staro

Ushguli triptych, Christ is almost completely taken down from the Cross ; following to the above classification of this episode, our icon exposes the final episode of this event.

On the right wing we see a three-figure group of the Way to Calvary - bare footed Christ, clad in purple collobium is depicted in the three-quarter profile turned to his left (fig. 7). Christ with bound hands is led by a beardless figure, who looks back at him. A youthful man bearing a big Cross is in the head of the procession. He is shown in three-quarter view, turned towards the central composition. Both figures, accompanying Christ, wear commoners' short tunics. In our icon Christ is shown motionless, and it could be suggested that the Ushguli triptych depicts the initial moment - the start of the procession ([10]).

All four Evangelists describe the Way to Calvary. According to the synoptics (Mathew 27,32 ; Mark 15,21 ; Luke 23,26) the Cross was carried by Simon of Cyrene. Luke indicates that Simon was in the end of the procession, while the other Evangelists do not indicate his position at all. According to John, Christ himself carried the Cross (John 19,16-17) ([11]). The last version was mainly developed in western art, while the christian East followed the synoptics' narration. The Way to Calvary has a long

Nagoričino, AD 1318 ; Sinai Crucifixion icon with the Passion scenes on its border, 1335-1350, etc. : G. MILLET, *La Peinture du Moyen Age en Yougoslavie*, ed. A. FROLOW, III, Paris, 1962, pl. 25, fig. 2, pl. 93, fig. 1 ; G. et M. SOTIRIOU, *Icônes du Mont-Sinai*, Athens, 1956, I, plates, fig. 205-207. On the early stage, the participants of this scene John and Mary are depicted static, but further they become more "active" – their poses and gestures bring dramatic and emotional features in this composition.

(10) The same phase is represented in the fresco composition of the Hermitage of S. Neophytos in Cyprus, AD 1197 ; the so called Karahisar Gospel miniature of the 13th century ; *Petropol Gospel* 105, p.167, etc. ; the fresco compositions of S. Nikita's church of Staro Nagoričino and Lesnovo church of S. Archangels, respectively executed in AD 1316-1317 and 1349, show the same order of participants, but here Christ is depicted in movement : see C. MANGO and E. J. HAWKINS, *The Hermitage of St. Neophytos and its Wall Paintings, DOP*, 20 (1966), fig. 31 ; MILLET, *op. cit.*, p.363, fig. 383, p. 365, fig. 386 ; G. MILLET, and A. FROLOW ed., as in the note 9, pl. 90, fig. 1 ; G. MILLET, *La peinture du Moyen Age en Yougoslavie*, ed. T. VELMANS, IV, Paris 1969, pl. 10, fig. 22.

(11) The version with Christ carrying the Cross sporadically occurs even in the Orthodox art, see the miniature of *Paris Gr.* 74, 11th c. ; Panaghia Parigoritissa of Arta, AD 1283-1296 ; Decani, 14th c. ; St. Sophia and Peribleptos in Mistra, 14th c., etc. ; A. KATSELAKI, *The Way to Calvary ; Iconographic Development of the Representation of Christ Elkomenos in Byzantine Art* (IV-

history and is depicted in early Christian murals, mosaics and other media as well ([12]).

This evangelic scene on the Ushguli triptych is characterised by a distinctive iconographic feature, that is an unusual beardless, youthful type of the Cross bearer. Traditionally Simon, who according to Mark was "the father of Alexander and Rufus" is depicted as a middle aged bearded man, sometimes slightly bold ([13]). Such a youthful type of the Cross bearer, appears in several early Christian works of art such as : a sarcophagus from the Vatican Museo Pio Cristiano (AD 340), reliefs of Santa Sabina's wooden door (AD 430), S. Apollinare Nuovo (AD

1453), in *ΔΧΑΕ, Περίοδος Δ΄*, 19 (1996-1997), (in Greek with English summary), pp. 184-188, fig. 11-13.

(12) E.g. the sarcophagus from the Vatican Museo Pio Cristiano (AD 340), reliefs of Santa Sabina's wooden door (AD 430), British Museum ivory (420-430), mosaics of S. Apollinare Nuovo (AD 520) in Ravenna, Santa Maria Antiqua (AD 7th c.) fresco in Rome. See *The Age of Spirituality, Late Antique and Early Christian Art III to VII century, catalogue of the exhibition, The Metropolitan Museum of Art,* New York, 1979, ed. K. WEITZMANN, pp. 502-504, n° 452 ; F. WINKELMANN, G. GOMOLKA-FUCUS, *Frühbyzantinische Kultur*, Leipzig, 1987, fig. 60 ; W. de GRUNEISEN, *Sainte Marie Antique*, Rome, 1911, fig. 120. On the iconography of the Way to the Calvary see MILLET, *op. cit.*, pp. 362-380 ; REAU, *op. cit.*, pp. 463-469 ; SCHILLER, *op. cit.*, pp. 88-98 ; PRIVALOVA, *op. cit.*, pp. 215-216, n. 33 ; the recent article of KATSELAKI, *op. cit.*, n. 11, with complete bibliography, pp. 167-200. The original iconographic version of the Way to Calvary is connected with Cappadoce – the typical feature of frescoes of this region is a depiction of Christ with a rope around his neck : e.g. Kılıçlar Kilise and Elmalı Kilise (both 11th c.), the later represents the version of the Way to Calvary, when Christ is led to Golgotha without Cross and accompanied by Simon. This version is depicted in Çavuşin, 10th c. ; Protaton and S. Nikolaos Orphanos, 14th c. ; on the Staurotheke of cardinal Bessarion (AD 1318-1380) ; Sinai tetraptych of the 14th c. ; etc. : see KATSELAKI, *op. cit.*, pp. 181, fig. 9, pp. 199-200. We see another peculiarity in the fresco composition in Çarıklı Kilise : Christ is excluded from the scene and only Simon of Cyrene carrying the Cross and soldiers are represented. Scholars explain this unusual iconographic detail by local prototypes. See A. WHARTON EPSTEIN, *The Fresco Decoration of the Column Churches, Göreme Valley Cappadocia,* in *CA*, 29 (1980-1981), fig. 13-15.

(13) See frescoes of the S. Neophytos church in Cyprus (AD 1197), miniatures of the *Gospel Athens*, ms. 93, last quarter of the 12th c. ; illustrations of the *Gospel Petropol* 105, 13th c. ; Vlatadon icon of the third quarter of the 14th c. See MANGO and HAWKINS, *op. cit.*, fig. 31 ; MILLET, *op. cit.*, fig. 382, 383 ; *Holy Image, Holy Space, catalogue of the exhibition,* Ed. M. ACHEIMASTOU POTAMIANOU, Athens, 1988, n° 25.

520) ([14]). Obviously, the early Christian models inspired the peculiar youthful type of Simon on our icon.

The lack of painting on the left wing makes it difficult to reconstruct the original composition of the triptych, but it could be supposed, that on this wing as well was a scene from the Passion, or more precisely from the Crucifixion cycle. Taking into consideration the subject and the order of the images, we could admit two different versions of the reconstruction of the original program. If we suppose the beginning of the narration from the right wing, from the Way to Calvary, followed by the Descent, on the left wing might have been depicted the next episode of the cycle – Lamentation or Entombment. But a narrow, vertical surface of the wing is less appropriate for these compositions ; most probably there was a scene from the Crucifixion cycle, which preceded the Descent. On its turn, the Descent was preceded by the Crucifixion, but the placement of the Crucifixion on the lateral wing is excluded and thus, it seems quite likely, that the episode following the Way to Calvary – the Preparation of the Cross was depicted here ([15]).

In the remaining scenes of the triptych, the Cross – a symbol of Christianity – is a powerful compositional and ideological dominant, and it is logical, that in the left wing scene a Cross was dominating as well. The compositional program of this icon differs from the traditional schemes of triptychs. The form of the three-part icon with underlined central panel and symmetric structure dictates the principle of the compositional system – the placement of the main image or scene on the central part, while the images of the lateral wings compositionally and ideologically complete and "comment" the main picture of the triptych. This compositional principle can be seen on numerous ivory triptychs from the middle Byzantine period ([16]). On the triptych from Svaneti we see a different compositional approach : on each panel is depicted an individual scene, but all of them are the components of the image of the main mystery of Christianity – salvation bringing sacrificial death of Christ. Instead of the Crucifixion, the painter of the Ushguli triptych selects nar-

(14) See above note 12.

(15) See an icon from Cyprus (12th c.), the frescoes of Timotesubani, Betania, Ozaani (end of the 12th - beginning of the 13th c.), etc. : S. SOPHOCLEOUS, *Icons of Cyprus 7th to 20th century*, Nicosia, 1997, fig. 78 ; PRIVALOVA, *op. cit.*, fig. 29, 29a, b, pp. 76-77.

(16) See GOLDSCHMIDT and WEITZMANN, *op. cit.*, n° 22, 23, 40, 71, 127, 208, 211, etc.

rative dramatic emotionally charged episodes of the cycle, where the idea of the sacrifice is expressed by the arrangement of the episodes extended in time.

Like other christian images the Ushguli icon offers multiple interpretations to believers. During centuries the liturgical practice, theological writings, and hymns enriched the meaning attached to the religious images. The compositions of the triptych are not simply the illustrations of the Holy Scripture, but they have a profound symbolic and liturgical meaning. The Holy Week Liturgy affects the program of this icon. The Descent is one of the important events commemorated on Good Friday and Holy Saturday as well. The Descent is considered as an alternate icon for the Crucifixion. The same interpretation of this subject is supposed for a 10th c. Dumbarton Oaks ivory relief depicting the Descent from the Cross, which originally was a central panel of a triptych ([17]).

Another image of the icon in question – the Road to Calvary – is considered as an illustration of the following words of the Saviour told to his disciples referring to salvation : "... If any man will come after me, let him deny himself and take up his Cross and follow me" (Mathew 16,24). At the same time this is an allusion to the Old Testament lamb "...brought to the slaughter..." and illustrates the first Easter Old Testament Lesson on Maundy Thursday (Jeremiah 11,9 "... I was like a lamb brought to the slaughter..."). The allusion to the Lamb is again made in the Good Friday vespers as Christ is a new Paschal sacrifice and thus the parallel between Christ and the sacrificial lamb was a well-established, widespread figurative association ([18]).

The emphasizing of the Cross on the triptych might be a reflection of the Constantinople tradition of the veneration of the relics of the Holy Cross on Good Friday and could serve as one more proof for the association of our icon with Good Friday.

On the basis of the traditional iconography of the Byzantine ivory triptychs the painter of our icon creates his own, meaningful program where the theme of Sacrifice is originally expressed. The tiny, graceful figures, the minuteness of their execution, their calligraphic design make evident its connection with miniature painting. The peculiar compositional program of the icon, where a focal event of the Passion story (the representative, solemn Crucifixion is replaced – or reinforced – by several, emo-

(17) K. WEITZMANN, as in note 4.
(18) SAMINSKY, *op. cit.*, p. 192.

tional, narrative episodes from the Passion cycle), reveals an increased tendency towards dramatic and expressive events retraced in the art from the end of the 12th c. ([19]). At the same time, the painter avoids the prolix narrative, and the essential protagonists of the sacred history restrict the scenes. In both scenes there are no indications of the site where the sacred events take place i.e. a landscape or architectural details. The extensive Passion cycles are introduced in the Palaeologan fresco paintings. The murals of Dečani (AD 1335-1350), with 43 Passion scenes and the frescoes of Theophanes the Greek in the church of Theodore the Stratilate (around 1350), where the Passion cycle is placed in the church apse, is a striking illustration of the mentioned tendency ([20]). The icons with numerous miniature compositions are characteristic for the end of the 13th and 14th c. Byzantine art as well. In this period prevailed small, individual icons for private devotion ; the diptychs and triptychs gain a special popularity in this time ([21]).

(19) For instance in the frescoes of Nerezi (AD 1164), Kurbinovo (AD 1191), Monreale mosaics (AD 1175), Betania, Timotesubani (late 12th-early 13th c.), Patmos monastery refectory frescoes (13th c.), Boyana (AD 1259), the church of the Peribleptos in Ochrid (AD 1295) : see I. Sinkević, *The Church of S. Panteleimon at Nezeri. Architecture, Programme, Patronage*, Wiesbaden, 2000, fig. XLV, XLVI ; Lydie Hadermann-Misguich, *Kurbinovo. Les fresques de Saint-Georges et la peinture byzantine du XII^e siècle*, Brussels, 1975, II, fig. 68, 72, 74 ; O. Demus, *The Mosaics of Norman Sicily,* London, 1949, pl. 71 a-b ; Privalova, *op.cit.*, pp. 75-82 ; fig. 28-32 ; Lazarev, *op. cit.*, pp. 139, 141 ; G. et M. Sotiriou, *op. cit.*, fig. 205-207. See also the Sinai icon of the Miracles and Passion of Christ with five images of the Virgin (late 11th c.), and an icon-menologion, the reverse of February (12th c.) : G. et M. Sotiriou, *op. cit.*, fig. 146-145.

(20) See Lazarev, *op. cit.*, pp. 177, 182 ; also Passion scenes in frescoes of S. Clement church in Ohrid (AD 1295) ; S. Nicholas, Prilep (AD 1298) ; S. Nikita, Staro Nagoričino (AD 1316-1317) ; cave church of Lesnovo, Bulgaria (AD 1313-1317) ; Peribleptos of Mistra (third quarter of the 14th c.) ; Zarzma (14th c.) ; Georgia, Leskovec, S. Nikolaos of Vevy (15th c.) ; Sinai icon of Crucifixion with 16 scenes on the border : T. Velmans, *La peinture du Moyen Age*. IV, pl. 6-9, 24-26, fig. 1, pl. 85-93 ; Lazarev, *op. cit.*, pp. 139, 165, 179.

(21) E.g. Hermitage icon with 6 feast scenes the first decade of the 14th c. ; British Museum icon (early 14th c.) ; mosaic icon from the Duomo museum in Florence (early 14th c.) ; icon with six Passion scenes from Vlatadon monastery (third quarter of the 14th c.) ; tetraptych and hexaptych from Sinai (respectively late 14th and late 14th-early 15th c.), etc. : see A. Bank, *Byzantine Art in the Collections of The USSR.* Moscow, Leningrad, 1985, fig. 262 ; O. Dalton, *Byzantine Art and Archaeology,* 1961, fig. 155 ; Lazarev, *op. cit.*, fig. 504-505 ; *From Byzantium to El Greco*, catalogue of the exhibition, ed M. Acheimastou-

The composition of the central panel is masterly arranged : the Descent is inscribed in the semi-circular area of the central part of the triptych – the Cross, erected in the central axis of the scene organizes the pictorial surface. The protagonists "act" beneath the visual border of the horizontal arm of the Cross, which creates an additional setting for the depicted figures and concentrates the attention on the story. The Cross is a focal object of the composition, the inclined Cross of the same shape on the right wing responds to this powerful ideological and compositional accent. The figures are depicted in free poses. Their gestures and postures create additional links and emotional nuances within the composition. The inner rhythm of postures and gestures direct the eye from the right part to the left – the bent figure of John and a small kneeling figure of Nicodemus are turned toward the Cross and correspondingly towards Joseph and Christ. The motion is continued by Christ's figure, inclined in the same direction. This "wave" is completed by the figure of the Virgin, shown almost in profile turned towards her son. The painter emphasizes the central group – Christ, Joseph and the Virgin. The smooth line of their gesture visually and emotionally ties them together – the line of Joseph's arms, carefully holding the body of Christ, flows into the gesture of Christ's arms and finally is united with the tender and emotional gesture of Mary. John's crossed arms, responding to the crossed arms of the Saviour, is included in this rhythm too. The poses and gestures display the whole emotional range, while their faces are calm, almost indifferent.

The scene of the right wing is tranquil and static and the physical suffering and emotions are less pronounced here. In this composition a somewhat secular air can be felt ([22]). Christ, who stands motionless at the right edge of the composition, is represented in larger scale than other participants of this episode, but the difference in size is not accentuated, because he is standing lower than the others with his head slightly inclined. In the middle figure's pose, who compositionally and ideologically connects the figure of Christ and that of the walking Cross bearer, can be seen an attempt of the painter to depict him in contrapposto ([23]).

POTAMIANOU, Athens, 1987, fig. 12 ; G. et M. SOTIRIOU, *op. cit.*, I, fig. 208-217.

(22) Probably due to this feature, P. Uvarova supposed the influence of the western art. : see note 2.

(23) Compare with more "classical" posture of figures from Dumbarton Oaks mosaic icon of 40 Martyrs (ca 1300) ; icon of 12 Apostles from Moscow (first quarter of the 14th c.) ; mosaics and frescoes of Kariye Djami (second decade of the 14th c.), etc. : O. DEMUS, *Two Palaeologan Mosaic Icons in the Dumbarton*

The general artistic interpretation of the subject, the stylistic features of the painting of the Ushguli triptych reveal the main tendencies of the Palaeologan painting. The slender figures with lightened proportions and small heads and minute features of the faces are depicted in gracious postures. The profile posture of the Virgin, the silhouette of S. John with bulging out back, the characteristic pose of Nicodemus and that of the middle figure from the Carrying of the Cross are other artistic hallmarks of this epoch ([24]).

The painting of the triptych is fine and confident. The soft modelling of the flesh is based on warm golden ochre and bright, short highlights. The delicate features of the faces are outlined by the final brown design, while the white highlights applied on the tips of the noses, foreheads, near eyes, on the necks slightly indicate a relief of the forms. A similar system of short white highlights is applied for the rendering of the nude body of Christ on the Ushguli triptych, which finds close parallels in already mentioned works of art, such as the mosaic icon of the 40 Martyrs, the Torments of the damned in the Kariye Djami fresco of the Last Judgement, etc. ([25]).

On the triptych the structure of the garments and their colour scheme follows the principles of the Palaeologan painting as well – the rendering of the drapery hardly shows the plastic modelling. The luminous patches and stiff white lines and dark shadowed parts of main tone of purple, greenish blue create a lively pattern, although the drapery mainly follows the articulation and the movements of the body ([26]). The fragile inner

Oaks Collection, in *DOP*, 14 (1966), pp. 89-120, fig. 2, 3 ; LAZAREV, *op. cit.*, fig. 512 ; P. UNDERWOOD, *The Kariye Djami*, II, plates, *The Mosaics*, 1966, pp. 46-64, etc.

(24) Compare with the Virgin depicted almost in profile on the Ascension icon from Ochrid (ca 1300). Similarities between the figures of Nicodemus on the Deposition icon from Stoclet (end of the 13th c.), and our icon is quite evident as well. The characteristic scheme of the depiction of the turned figure from the Carrying of the Cross could be found also on the Kariye Djami mosaics : see WEITZMANN *e altri*, *op. cit.*, p. 169 ; LAZAREV, *op. cit.*, fig. 435 ; UNDERWOOD, *op. cit.*, II, *The Mosaics*, plates, 1966, p. 143, n° 97, p. 234, n° 17, p. 253, n° 124, etc.

(25) See the depiction of the Torments of the Damned in the Kariye Djami fresco and the 40 Martyrs mosaic icon from Dumbarton Oaks Collection in P. UNDERWOOD, III, *The Frescoes*, plates, pp. 402-403, n° 209 ; O. DEMUS, as in n. 23.

(26) Such system of rendering of garments could be seen in numerous examples of early Palaeologan icon painting, e.g. the already mentioned Ascension icon from Ochrid (see note 24), icons of Baptism, Anastasis, Incredulity of

design, the restricted use of "lights" permit the painter of the Ushguli icon to avoid the overmodelling, schematisation and dryness appearing in the paintings of the later period ([27]).

The palette of the icon has the characteristic colours of the Palaeologan painting : blue, lilac, ochre, and purple. The colouristic rhythm of the icon increases the sophisticated decorative effect : the middle figure in the Way to Calvary is clad in purple tunic, the vestments of John are of the same colour. The crossed colouristic rhythm is found even inside the composition – the figure in the head of the procession is clad in purple dress and wears bluish-green "socks", while the Cross bearer's socks and tunic are coloured vice versa.

The compositional and semantic meaning of the depicted protagonists is underlined by the colouristic accents. The colours of the icon masterfully direct the viewer's eye : the attention is focused on the central figure and accordingly the largest light spot – on the body of the deposed Christ which is especially expressive against Joseph's bluish garment. The warm tone of Christ's body is the center of the icon, the orange linear design of the Saviour's loincloth softly harmonises with his nude body's ochre tone. Then the attention is attracted by the deep purple maphorion of the Virgin, way of Incarnation of the Logos, who after Jesus is semantically the most important character of the sacred history. The depiction of the figures in free, natural poses – almost profile posture of the Virgin, strongly bent S. John, and kneeling Nicodemus – reveal the innovation of Palaeologan art in the reproduction of the space. This new interpretation of the pictorial space becomes more evident if we compare Nicodemus on the Ushguli triptych with his clumsy images on the earlier examples ([28]).

The floral ornament of the repoussé revetment consisted of thick stem and ramified leaves, while a S-shape niello pattern adorns the vertical edges of the triptych's central part. The smooth surfaces of the leaves are not plastically modelled. The artistic and stylistic character of the silver

Thomas, beginning of the 14th c., from Ochrid ; icons of Nativity and Baptism, beginning of the 14th c., from Belgrade : see WEITZMANN *e altri, op. cit.*, pp. 170-173.

(27) Compare with the painting of the Annunciation icon from Lavra, Mount Athos, Sinai tetraptych, late 14th c., etc. : cfr P. VOCOTOPOULOS, *Byzantine Art, Byzantine Icons,* Athens, 1995, fig. 105-108, 116.

(28) E.g. the Second Jruchi Gospel, Nerezi, etc. : see MACHAVARIANI, as in note 4 ; SINKEVIĆ, *op. cit.*, fig. XLV.

revetment conforms to the tendencies found in the Georgian repoussé works of the end of the 13th and the beginning of the 14th c. The schematisation of the ornament, the carpet-like distribution of the leaves on the surface, the lack of plasticity, find parallels in the metal works of the indicated period (29).

Despite the fact that a silver revetment does not allow the depiction of the space, the figures portrayed in diverse poses are placed in several plans that create a certain pictorial depth. The compositional structure of the icon, the stylistic features of the painting, the characteristic treatment of the figures, the sense of volume reached by the modelling with highlights, the complex poses, the typical profile depiction of Nicodemus, the particular colouristic harmony, based on the main tones of purple, bluish-green, all this is a clear indication of the stylistic features of the Palaeologan painting.

On the present stage it is difficult to determine precisely where the Ushguli triptych was created, but the features of the painting demonstrate certain links with the Palaeologan painting of Constantinople. Although the style of the painting of our icon reflects the main tendencies of its time, some details, such as the right shoulder of the Cross bearer, depicted unnaturally high, the disproportional shoulders of the second figure in the Carrying of the Cross as well, the stereotyped faces, the absence of personal characteristics lead us to suppose that the painter of the triptych was a representative of a "provincial" school, who was familiar with the art of the Capital, or had been educated in one of the advanced metropolitan artistic centers of its time.

It should be added, that the Ushguli triptych acquires a special importance because the painted triptychs with similar programs, where each part represents a semantically equal meaningful composition, are mainly the production of the post-Byzantine period and thus our icon is one of the earliest preserved examples of this type of triptychs (30).

The triptych from Ushguli is an original example of icon painting, its subject was determined by the tendencies of its time, but on the other

(29) CHUBINASHVILI, *op. cit.*, pp. 476-478.

(30) E.g. two icons of George Clontzas : one with the Last Judgment, USA Private Collection, and the other with the Crucifixion and the Procession to Calvary, Baltimore, Walters Art Gallery, both of the second half of the 16th c. ; Transfiguration, Resurrection and Crucifixion are depicted on the 17th c. triptych from the Yannoukos Collection : *Holy Image, Holy Space* n° 69, 70, 80, pp. 224-229, 236-237.

ZUR VERWALTUNGSSPITZE IM ILLYRICUM WÄHREND DER MAILÄNDER PERIODE KAISER VALENTINIANS II. (A. 383-387)

I. Einführung : Zur Erforschung der spätantiken *praefectura praetorio*

Neuere Untersuchungen haben gezeigt, daß die Umwandlung der *praefectura praetorio* (*ppo*) vom zentralen Hofamt zur höchsten Instanz des regional gegliederten Verwaltungs- und Rechtsprechungsapparates nicht als eine planvolle Schöpfung Diocletians (a. 284-305) oder Constantins I. (a. 306-37), sondern als Ergebnis einer Entwicklung zu begreifen ist, die erst gegen Ende des vierten Jahrhunderts zu einem allmählichen Abschluß gelangte. Trotz bestehender Unterschiede im einzelnen wird die Ausbildung der drei Großpraefecturen *Galliae* (incl. Spaniens und Britanniens), *Italia* (incl. Afrikas) und *Oriens* (incl. Thrakiens und Ägyptens) nunmehr überwiegend in die Epoche der Constantinsöhne (a. 337-61) datiert. Größter Streitpunkt ist seit jeher das Illyricum, für das verschiedene, sich mehrfach abwechselnde Organisationsformen bekannt sind (1).

Grund für die Schwierigkeiten bei der Rekonstruktion sind nicht allein die lückenhaften oder verderbten Quellen, die zahlreiche alternative Interpretationen erlauben. Auch methodische Defizite haben die Erarbeitung eines konsensfähigen Modells bisher in doppelter Weise behindert. Einerseits wurden abstrakte Vorstellungen von der Funktionsweise der *ppo*, die in einer bestimmten Phase durchaus zutreffend sein mögen, unsachgemäß verallgemeinert und den Zeugnissen mit mehr oder minder großer Gewalt aufgezwängt. Andererseits entschuldigt man zu viele Eingriffe in die Fragmente der Gesetzescodices mit ihrer tatsäch-

(1) Cf. bes. die Arbeiten von Migl 1994, Salway 1994/95, Ausbuttel 1988 und 1998, Barnes 1987 und 1992, Noethlichs 1982 ; demnächts auch Coşkun 2004.

FIG. 1. — Passion triptych from Ushguli

FIG. 2. — The back of the icon with the donor's inscription

FIG. 3. — Central part of the triptych : *Descent from the Cross*

FIG. 4. — Icon with *Descent from the Cross* and *Lamentation*. XII[th] c. Lagurka (Svaneti)

FIG. 5. — Timotesubani, *Descent from the Cross*, end XII^th^ c.-beg. XIII^th^ c.

FIG. 6. — Zarzma, *Descent from the Cross*, XIV[th] c.

FIG. 7 — Passion triptych from Ushguli, right wing : *Way to Calvary*

lichen oder auch nur vermeintlichen Verderbtheit, ohne das Potential einer methodisch begründeten Quellenkritik auszuschöpfen.

In einer Reihe von Spezialuntersuchungen habe ich jüngst versucht, die Struktur und die Inhaber der Praefecturen in relativ eng begrenzten Phasen der Reichsgeschichte des vierten Jahrhunderts zu erfassen (2). Es zeichnet sich ab, daß das Prinzip der praesentalen *ppo* bis über die Jahrhundertmitte von zentraler Bedeutung blieb : Wie noch unter Constantin I. war es die Hauptaufgabe der *ppo*, die Versorgung des Hofstaates und des kaiserlichen Bewegungsheeres zu gewährleisten, wobei auch darüber hinaus reichende Kontroll- und Entscheidungsfunktionen in diesem Amt zusammenliefen ; andere *ppo*, die nicht im Hofstaat anzutreffen waren, sollten bis unter Constantius II. (a. 337-61) besser als flexibel eingesetzte 'nichtpraesentale' *ppo* denn als Beamte mit festumrissenem Sprengel aufgefaßt werden. Der Grad der Veränderlichkeit sank für den später als *ppo Galliarum* bezeichneten Großraum schon zu Beginn der 340-er, für die künftige *ppo Italiae* in den 350-er und für die *ppo Orientis* erst in den 360-er Jahren (3).

Freilich kamen auch weiterhin kurzfristige Abweichungen vor. Zumeist betrafen diese aber die Dioecesen Pannonia, Dacia und Macedonia : Entweder waren sie einem *ppo praesens*, einem *ppo Ital.* (bzw. *ppo Ital. et Illyr.* oder *ppo Ital., Illyr. et Afr.*) oder einem separaten *ppo Illyr.* (a. 359-61, 364-65/66, 376-78) unterstellt. Eine vierte Option wurde erstmals a. 379 realisiert : Der *ppo Ital. (et Illyr.)* regierte Pannonien, während Dakien und Makedonien einem eigenen *ppo Illyr.* zugewiesen wurden. Damit war bereits die Gliederung vorweggenommen, die regulär ca. a. 395 in Kraft trat und in anschaulicher Weise in der *Notitia dignitatum* beschrieben wird. Das besonders von Seeck vertretene fünfte Modell einer kollegial verwalteten italisch-illyrischen *ppo* hat zwar zahlreiche Anhänger gefunden, scheint aber in den letzten Jahren an

(2) Cf. Coşkun 2002b zu Neuansätzen in der Datierung von Gesetzesfragmenten und zur Identifizierung ihrer Adressaten (teilweise in Absetzung von Mommsen 1904/5, Seeck 1919, Matthews 2000) ; ebendort zu den *ppo* des Petronius Probus a. 364/83 (s. dazu auch u. Kap. IV.1) ; Coşkun 2002a, SS. 145f. zu a. 376-79 ; Coşkun 2004a zu a. 337-61 ; Coşkun 2004b zu a. 388-96. Eine systematische Prosopographie der höheren Beamten a. 375-83 ist in Bearbeitung (Coşkun, *Gratian*).

(3) Diese Titel sind erst ab den 360-er Jahren überliefert, cf. z.B. Mommsen 1901/10, SS. 284f. und Migl 1994, S. 141.

Überzeugungskraft einbebüßt zu haben. Tatsächlich ist dieses unpraktikable Konstrukt mit Entschiedenheit abzulehnen (4).

II. Die Entwicklung der praefectura praetorio Illyrici im vierten Jahrhundert

Mit der vorliegenden Studie soll eine kleine, aber keineswegs unerhebliche Lücke innerhalb der Erforschung der Verwaltungsgeschichte geschlossen werden. Es geht um die Phase von der Rückgabe der beiden östlichen Dioecesen an Gratian bis zum Einfall des Magnus Maximus in Italien (Frühjahr 387). Die Aufteilung der Herrschaftsgebiete ist für jene Jahre *grosso modo* unumstritten : Während Theodosius I. (a. 379-95) beim Tode Gratians (25.8.383) die gesamte *ppo Orientis* beherrschte, teilten sich Bruder und Mörder Gratians zunächst die westliche *pars imperii* : Valentinian II. vermochte die Reichsmitte (Italien, Illyricum und Afrika) bis zum Frühjahr 387 gegen Maximus zu verteidigen, dessen Territorium solange auf die *ppo Galliarum* beschränkt war.

Die früheren Ansichten, daß Dacia und Macedonia bereits a. 379 endgültig dem Ostkaiser zugeschlagen wurden oder daß dies nicht vor a. 395 erstmalig geschah, werden heute nicht mehr vertreten (5). Vielmehr begründeten Seeck und Stein die einflußreich gewordene Lehre von einer nur vorübergehenden Teilung a. 379. Kontrovers bleiben allerdings bis in

(4) Cf. *Not. dign. or.* 1,54-56 ; *occ.* 2,28ff. etc. ; Seeck 1914 *passim* und 1919, SS. 141-49 ; 424f. ; *contra* Palanque 1933 (aber mit weitreichenden Zugeständnissen 1951, S. 14 Anm. 2) und Jones 1964 ; Vera 1983a, S. 391 ; 404 („*deus ex machina* delle prefecture collegiali") ; Barnes 1992 und Migl 1994 ; Coşkun 2002a, bes. SS. 64-66.

(5) Zur früheren Ansicht cf. z.B. Tillemont 1707/39, 5,1, SS. 264 ; 417-24 ; Borghesi 1897, 2, S. 433 ; Mommsen 1901/10, S. 289 ; dagegen datiert Rauschen 1897, SS. 469-75 die einzige und endgültige Teilung ca. a. 395 (ähnlich Lot 1936, SS. 322-33, aber mit Aporie betreffs *CTh* 8,4,17, s.u. Anm. 10 ; Grumel 1951, S. 9), während Alföldi 1924, SS. 69-76 die Neugliederung a. 389 setzt. Von mehrfachen Änderungen geht Cuq 1897, SS. 433ff. aus. Wieder anders erklärt Errington 1996, SS. 22-27, daß alle drei illyrischen Dioecesen von Sept. 379 bis Juli 382 Theodosius unterstellt worden seien ; der Zeitpunkt der Rückgabe sei durch *CTh* 9,40,13 an Flavianus *ppo Illyrici et Italiae* vom 18.8.382 „vorweggenommen" worden ; aber abgesehen davon, daß das Gesetz von a. 390 datiert (s.u. Anm. 53), ist auch die Bezeichnung *Illyricum* nicht signifikant (s.u. Kap. II mit Anm. 7).

die heutige Forschung der Zeitpunkt der Wiederangliederung an den Westen (a. 380/86) sowie die Frage nach der anschließenden Organisation, wofür alle o.g. Formen in mannigfacher Variation vorgeschlagen werden. Die bestehende Aporie zeigt sich z.B. in den Fasten der *PLRE*, in welcher die Spalte für potentielle Inhaber der *ppo Illyr.* nach a. 381 frei bleibt (6).

(6) Cf. *PLRE* 1,1051. Nach SEECK 1914, SS. 20f. ; 25f. ; bes. 37f. wurden die ostillyrischen Dioecesen a. 379 zur *ppo Or.* geschlagen, die dann bis Ende 381 (wie auch die *ppo Ital., Illyr. et Afr.* bis a. 387) kollegial verwaltet worden sei ; Theodosius habe Gratian ihre Rückgabe verweigert, doch seien sie bis vor dem 29.7.386 (*CTh* 1,32,5 an Eusignius, s.u. mit Anm. 9) Valentinian unterstellt worden. Ähnlich wieder VERA 1983a, SS. 404f. (s.u. Anm. 41), nachdem er noch 1979, 392 ihre Wiederbesetzung nach der Usurpation a. 383 postuliert hat. Indes datiert SEECK 1919, SS. 148 ; 425 ihren Anschluß an den Westen erst a. 388. STEIN 1925, SS. 347-51 setzt den Beschluß der Rückgabe bereits in den Spätsommer a. 380 und die endgültige Anerkennung der östlichen Hoheit a. 395 ; das Praefectenkollegium in *Ital. et Illyr.* sei bereits a. 381/82 eingesetzt worden (SS. 370f.). PALANQUE 1933, SS. 54f. ; 116 ; 1969, S. 605 akzeptiert das Datum der Rückgabe (Sept. 380), postuliert aber 1933, SS. 65-77 die Verwaltung der Reichsmitte unter nur einem *ppo Ital. et Illyr.* 380/87, während er SS. 54 und 57 wie bereits SEECK eine kollegiale *ppo Or. et Illyr.* 379-80 ansetzt (ebenso 1951, SS. 6-9, mit Zustimmung bei VON HAEHLING 1979, S. 99). Nachdem er vorübergehend eine separate *ppo Illyr.* 382-87 gefordert hat (1934b, SS. 711f.), vertritt er 1944, S. 284 die Ansicht, Theodosius habe das Illyricum a. 383 besetzt und erst wieder im Sommer 384 gegen die Anerkennung des Maximus durch Valentinian an letzteren abgetreten (ähnlich bereits PEARCE 1934, SS. 114-18 mit zweifelhaften numismatischen Argumenten) ; dies ist ebenso fraglich wie die unterstellte Konsultationspflicht, die Theodosius seinem jüngeren Kollegen auferlegt habe (mit Verweis auf AMBR. *epist.* 21,14 MAUR. = ZELZER, *CSEL* 82,10,3, S. 79 *parens clementiae tuae*) oder die Behauptung, daß alle Consuln a. 384-88 im Osten nominiert worden seien. Später postulierte PALANQUE (1951, SS. 10-12 ; 1969, S. 605) lediglich eine ephemere *ppo Illyr.* 386/87 des Eusignius (dagegen z.B. schon HIGGINS 1935, S. 640), s. weiteres u. in Kap. IV.1. STEIN 1934, S. 344 Anm. 2 erachtet Neoterius und seinen Nachfolger Eusignius als Kollegen des Principius in der *ppo Ital.* und bezeichnet sie ohne Begründung als *praefecti praetorio in comitatu* (d.h. praesentale *ppo*) ; SS. 344f. fordert er neben diesem Kollegium eine separate *ppo Illyr.* des Licinius von Sommer 384 bis nach dem 18.12.385 ; s. dagegen aber u. Kap. IV.3 und Anm. 9 zu *CTh* 8,4,17 ; zudem ignoriert STEIN völlig Praetextatus *ppo Ital. et Illyr.* 384 (s.u. Kap. IV.1). *Contra* auch DEMOUGEOT 1947, SS. 22-24, die eine separate Verwaltung des Illyricum nach a. 381 und vor a. 395 kategorisch ablehnt, ohne aber *CTh* 8,4,17 oder *CJ*

Eine spezielle Schwierigkeit bei der Analyse der geopolitischen Struktur besteht darin, daß die Dioecese *Pannonia* oftmals auch *Illyricum* genannt wurde und der Nachweis eines *ppo Ital. et Illyr.* keinen Aufschluß über die unabhängige Existenz einer östlichen *ppo Illyr.* vermittelt (7). Dennoch vermag eine mikroskopische Spurensuche, Klärung

11,60,1 an Licinius (S. 22 Anm. 2) hinreichend zu erklären ; ähnlich 1951, SS. 144f. ; 1979, S. 248 erkennt dieselbe freilich die Notwendigkeit an, für a. 387/88 eine Ausnahme zu machen, als Maximus Valentinian auf Dacia und Macedonia beschränkt hatte. ENßLIN 1954, Sp. 2437f. folgt STEIN für a. 384-86, hält aber mit PALANQUE auch eine *ppo Illyr.* 386/87 des Eusignius für möglich. Ähnlich wie STEIN ad a. 379/80 rekonstruieren auch STEIN-PALANQUE 1959, SS. 191 ; 520 ; PASCHOUD 1979, S. 386 ; FITZ 1983, SS. 44-47 ; KIENAST 1996, S. 337. Eine Synthese der Positionen SEECKS und STEINS schlägt VERA 1983a, S. 413 vor, s.u. Anm. 41. MAZZARINO 1942, SS. 33-39, bes. 37 mit Anm. 2 geht zwar von einer Rückgabe a. 380/81 aus, doch seien die beiden östlichen Dioecesen noch vor der Flucht Valentinians nach Thessalonike (ca. Juni/Aug. 387) Theodosius definitiv unterstellt worden (S. 47f.) ; jedoch ist es unzulässig, das Lob auf Theodosius in AUG. *Civ.* 5,26 (er habe Valentinian in *sui partes imperii* empfangen) für diese Interpretation zu pressen, wie auch VERA 1983a, S. 416 Anm. 228 mit weiterer Begründung feststellt. JONES 1964, S. 79 (ebenso *PLRE* 1,1050f.) läßt die Trennung des Illyricum bis mindestens Sept. 381 dauern, da Eutropius solange als von Theodosius abhängiger *ppo* neben Neoterius bzw. dessen Nachfolger Florus nachgewiesen sei ; die Annahme einer kollegialen Verwaltung hält er zu Recht für unnötig. Auch HOFFMANN 1969/70, 1,459 ; 2,189 Anm. 229 ; 2,207-15, 210 datiert die vorübergehende Teilung a. 379-80 ; allerdings habe das ganze Illyricum seit a. 391/92 dem Osten unterstanden, während Pannonien a. 396 an den Westen zurückgekehrt sei. Ohne ins Detail zu gehen, unterscheidet VARÁDY 1969, S. 77 mit Anm. 186 für das *Illyr. Or.* zwischen einer Zugehörigkeit *de iure* zum Westen und *de facto* zu Theodosius. PIGANIOL 1972, SS. 269f. Anm. 5 geht von einer offiziellen Herrschaft Valentinians und faktischen Eingriffen des Theodosius aus. FITZ 1994, S. 1230 nähert sich der Position ENßLINS zu Licinius an, s.u. Anm. 40 und 48. Zu einer ausführlicheren Besprechung der vorübergehenden Teilung a. 379-82 cf. demnächst COŞKUN, *Gratian.*

(7) Cf. z.B. *Not. dign. occ.* 2 ; 9,17 etc., dazu bereits STEIN 1925, S. 365 ; ferner z.B. *CTh* 10,19,7 *per Illyricum et dioecesim Macedonicam.* Deswegen ist es fraglich, *omne Illyricum* in *CTh* 11,13,1 a. 383 (s.u. Anm. 10) oder *ppo Ital. et Illyr.* in *CTh* 9,40,13 a. 382/89 (s.o. Anm. 5) oder in *CIL* 6,1777-79 a. 384/85 (ähnlich LOT 1936, S. 329 ; anders STEIN 1925, SS. 348f., s. auch u. Anm. 20) als *termini ad quem* für die Wiedervereinigung der ostillyrischen Dioecesen mit der *ppo Ital.* heranzuziehen ; cf. auch den Verweis ALFOLDIS 1924, 1, S. 74 auf Stellen wie *CTh* 12,1,177 a. 413 (*per omne dumtaxat Illyricum*) und 16,2,45 a.

zu bringen. Ihren Ausgangspunkt stellt die andernorts begründete Prämisse dar, daß die Rückgabe der Dioecesen Dacia und Macedonia am ehesten in den Herbst 382 fiel (8).

III. Skizze der praefectura praetorio unter Valentinian II. (A. 383-87)

Die Revision des prosopographischen Materials hat mindestens drei, wenn nicht sogar vier *ppo* zutage gefördert, die a. 383/84-87 ihre Befehle von Valentinian II. erhielten, aber nicht in Italien oder Pannonien residierten. Somit hatten sie ein Amt inne, das parallel zum *ppo Ital. et Illyr. (Occ.)* organisiert war.

Die Entscheidung, ihren Zuständigkeitsbereich mit dem östlichen Illyricum zu identifizieren, wird durch zwei Gesetze untermauert : *CTh* 1,32,5 vom 29.7.386, das Dacia und Macedonia ausdrücklich als Sprengel des Adressaten benennt und bisher als Beweis für die Nichtexistenz einer separaten *ppo Illyr.* a. 386 galt (9), belegt vielmehr, daß sich damals eine *ppo Illyr. (Or.)* unter der Kontrolle Valentinians befand ; *CTh* 8,4,17 spricht zudem ausdrücklich von einem *officium inlustris per Illyricum praefecturae* und datiert ungefähr aus der Zeit nach Sommer 384 und vor Sommer 387 (10).

421 (*per omnes Illyrici provincias*), die sich allein auf den Osten beziehen. Entgegen Fitz 1994, S. 1227 trifft es also durchaus nicht zu, daß „die vollständige illyrische Präfektur" als Teil der *ppo Ital. et Illyr.* nachgewiesen sei, zumal er selbst (1983, S. 43 mit Anm. 269) anerkannt hat, daß *Illyricum* in *CTh* 13,1,11 a. 379/80 an Hesperius nur das westliche Illyricum bedeute (diese Differenzierung fehlt hingegen 1994, SS. 1221f.) ; zu letzterem Gesetz cf. z.B. auch Palanque 1951, SS. 8f.

(8) S.o. Anm. 6.

(9) So z.B. Stein 1934, SS. 344f. ; Lot 1936, S. 328 („on peut s'étonner seulement que la loi ne concerne que l'Illyrie orientale, comme s'il n'y avait en Illyrie occidentale ni mines ni abus") ; Demougeot 1947, SS. 22f. ; Vera 1983a, S. 415 ; s.u. aber Kap. IV.1 zu Eusignius. Den Fehler vermeidet Hoffmann 1970, 2,210, der als einziger die Zugehörigkeit Ostillyriens zum Westen folgert.

(10) *CTh* 8,4,17 wurde laut Überlieferung an Cynegius *ppo per Orientem, dat. V kal. Iul.* (27.6.) 389 gerichtet, obwohl Cynegius schon im März 388 gestorben war ; mithin entfällt auch die Option, das überlieferte Tagesdatum der Emanation und das Consulat der Publikation im Folgejahr zuzuschreiben. Deswegen gilt die Jahresangabe als willkürlich interpoliert. Seeck 1919, S. 269 ; Stein 1934, SS. 343f. ; *PLRE* 1,235f. Maternus Cynegius 3 datieren mit Blick

Allerdings erlauben die gesichteten Quellen keine definitive Entscheidung in der Frage, wann genau und aus welchem Grund die a. 384-87 bezeugte Ordnung eingerichtet wurde. Verschiedene Alternativen bleiben denkbar : Entweder hatte Gratian die Gebiete a. 382 bei ihrer

auf *CTh* 11,1,21 (23.12.385) und 11,2,5 (18.12.?389) auf den 18.12.385. Ähnlich deuten DELMAIRE 1989, S. 97 Anm. 82 (18. oder 23.12.385) und HONORÉ 1998, S. 54 Anm. 260, während PALANQUE 1933, SS. 62f. in *<Caesario> ppo Or., dat.* 28.6.<397> emendiert. Dagegen halten MAZZARINO 1942, S. 43 Anm. 4 und DEMOUGEOT 1947, SS. 22f. das Jahr 389 für zutreffend. PALANQUE 1951, SS. 12f. (cf. auch STEIN-PALANQUE 1959, S. 528 Anm. 83) schlägt wiederum a. 387 vor : Theodosius habe die Schwäche Valentinians ausgenutzt, um sich des Illyricum zu bemächtigen ; allerdings müsse es nicht zu einer Einsetzung eines speziellen *ppo Illyr.* gekommen sein, zumal die einzige Quelle ein Gesetz an den *ppo Or.* sei und nach Beendigung des Bürgerkrieges erneut *ppo Ital. et Illyr.* amtiert hätten. VERA 1983a, S. 416 akzeptiert a. 387 für das Gesetz, läßt aber das Kausalverhältnis offen. – Das Gesetz modifiziert die von Gratian festgesetzten Steuerleistungen aus der *ppo Or.* für die Truppen des Illyricum ; der Name des alleinigen Urhebers erlaubt, den Erlaß der zu modifizierenden Regel in den Zeitraum von Herbst 378 bis Januar 379 zu datieren. Während comitatensische Truppen damals Naturalleistungen und Limitanverbände Geld erhalten sollten, setzte Theodosius fest, fortan den entsprechenden Preis in Gold an das *officium inlustris per Illyricum praefecturae* zu entrichten. Damit sind ein geringerer Importbedarf an Lebensmitteln bzw. eine gestiegene landwirtschaftliche Produktion vorausgesetzt, wodurch kostspielige Transporte aus Kleinasien verzichtbar geworden waren. Ein Zusammenhang mit den o.g. Bestimmungen vom Dez. 385 ist denkbar, da es damals ebenfalls um Transportpflicht und Naturalabgaben ging ; doch weichen die Anordnungen im Detail ab, so daß SEECKS Postulat eines einheitlichen legislativen Prozesses unsicher bleibt (cf. auch PALANQUE 1951, SS. 11f.). Im unmittelbaren Kontext von Theodosius' Feldzug in den Westen a. 384 wäre eine solche Bestimmung freilich widersinnig, denn dadurch wäre der Lebensmittelbedarf stark erhöht worden ; *terminus a quo* ist also Theodosius' Rückkehr in den Osten im Herbst 384. *Terminus ad quem* für den Erlaß von *CTh* 8,4,17 an Cynegius dürfte die Flucht Valentinians nach Thessalonike im Sommer 387 sein, denn auch die Verlegung seines Hofes steigerte dort die Nachfrage an Naturalien, was PALANQUE gänzlich übersieht. Das Postscript mag ganz oder teilweise auf eine spätere Bearbeitung zurückgehen, die aber lediglich einen *terminus ante quem* für den Erlaß bildet. *CTh* 8,4,17 ist also ein direkter Beleg für die Existenz einer separaten *ppo Illyr.* ca. Herbst 384/Frühling 387, ohne daß es zu einer Aussage über die Anzahl der Dioecesen oder die Hoheit berechtigt. Ohne weitere Begründung datiert LOT 1936, a. 333 ebenso, setzt aber eine Abhängigkeit von Theodosius voraus.

Rückgabe unter der Aufsicht eines *ppo Illyr. (Or.)* belassen ; er hätte dann einen strategischen Vorteil in der Neugruppierung des Illyricum erkannt ; oder er traf die Anordnung, als er im Frühjahr 383 einen Balkanfeldzug plante, der jedoch durch die Usurpation des Magnus Maximus vereitelt wurde ; oder die Einsetzung eines weiteren *ppo* wurde erst am Hof Valentinians II. beschlossen ; das Hauptmotiv lag dann gegebenenfalls in der Vermehrung der illustren Verwaltungsstellen, wonach durch den Verlust Galliens an Maximus ein erhöhter Bedarf bestanden haben wird. Wenn auch mit der nötigen Zurückhaltung, die die Informationslage erfordert, neige ich der letztgenannten Möglichkeit zu ([11]).

(11) Es ist gewiß nicht zu bezweifeln, daß der Donaugrenze auch nach dem Friedensschluß mit den Goten weiterhin besondere Aufmerksamkeit zuteil wurde. Eine wirkungsvolle Versorgung der illyrischen Feldarmee war freilich nur bei einer dezentralen und nicht von Sirmium oder Mailand aus gesteuerten Organisation möglich, doch konnte dieser Effekt auch durch einen Vicar erzielt werden. Die Entwicklungsgeschichte der *ppo* im 4. Jh. zeigt, daß Änderungen der Ordnung meistens mit Bewegungen eines Hofstaates oder mit dem Bedürfnis nach weiteren Ehrenstellungen verbunden war (s. Anm. 1-2), was für die zweite oder dritte Alternative spricht. Gegen die zweite könnte allerdings auf *CTh* 11,13,1 vom Juni 383 (s.o. Anm. 7) verwiesen werden, wo der Kompetenzbereich des Petronius Probus wie folgt beschrieben wird : *igitur sinceritas tua id ipsum per omnem Italiam, tum etiam per urbicarias Africanasque regiones ac per* ***omne Illyricum*** *praelata oraculi huius auctoritate firmabit.* In der älteren Lit. gilt dies als ausdrücklicher Beleg dafür, daß dem *ppo Ital.* wieder sämtliche drei illyrische Dioecesen unterstanden, cf. z.B. Stein 1925, SS. 364-68 ; Palanque 1933, SS. 70 ; 116 ; 1951, S. 9 ; Demougeot 1947, S. 19 (ähnlich Seeck 1914, SS. 25f. mit unhaltbaren Spekulationen). Allerdings ist dies keineswegs sicher, da z.B. *omnis Italia* nur den nördlichen Teil (sc. *Italia annonaria*) und *urbicariae regiones* nur den südlichen Teil der *dioecesis Italia* bezeichnen, während *Africanae regiones* für die *dioec. Afr.* stehen ; somit darf nicht auf der Grundlage dieses Gesetzes entschieden werden, ob Petronius Probus damals Kleinillyrien (d.h. die *dioecesis Pannonia*) oder Großillyrien unterstand ; ähnlich auch Lot 1936, SS. 326f. ; Mazzarino 1942, SS. 34 ; 39f. ; Vera 1983a, S. 403 ; anders Migl 1994, S. 145 : „Eindeutigkeit und Vollständigkeit dieser Aufzählung lassen nichts mehr zu wünschen übrig".

IV. Prosopographie der praefecti praetorio Valentinians II. (A. 383-87)

1. *Die praefecti praetorio Italiae et Illyrici (Occidentalis) a. 383-87*

Sextus Claudius Petronius **Probus** :

Quaest., praet., procos. Afr. 358-59, *ppo I Illyr.* iv.364-66, *ppo II Gall.* 367-68, *ppo III Ital., Afr. et Illyr.* Herbst 368-xii.75/i.76, *cos.* 371, [*ppo* 380], *ppo IV Ital., Afr. et Illyr.* vi.-x.383/v.384, [*ppo Ital. et Illyr.* 387], † ca. 388.

Als Haupt der katholischen Familienverbände der Petronii Probi und Anicii war er eine maßgebliche Stütze des Regimes Valentinians I. Aber auch unter Gratian blieb sein Einfluß ungemindert, denn seine Verwandten Claudius Antonius, Hermogenianus Olybrius und Probus teilten sich zusammen mit Decimius Magnus Ausonius und seiner Gefolgschaft die Schlüsselpositionen im Reich, bevor Petronius Probus selbst zum vierten Mal *ppo* wurde ([12]). Im einzelnen ist die Abfolge seiner Ämter nach wie vor höchst umstritten.

Als folgenschwer erwies sich Seecks Entscheidung, die *ppo I* unter Berufung auf Ammian a. 368 beginnen zu lassen. Die Mehrheit der Forscher schließt sich ihm — wenn auch mit vielfältigen Modifikationen — an, so daß die Praefecturen mit verschiedener Zählweise und Sprengelzuteilung in etwa derart rekonstruiert werden : *ppo* 367/68-76, *ppo* 377/80, *ppo* 383-84/87 ([13]). Damit wird aber zugleich eine unhaltbare Interpretation der *cursus*-Inschriften und zudem die gewaltsame Korrektur mehrerer Gesetzesdaten aufgenötigt, ohne dem Gewährsmann Ammian vollauf Genüge zu tun ; außerdem muß vielfach von kollegialen Amtsführungen auch nach der Herausbildung der Sprengelordnung ausgegangen werden. Deswegen ist ohne Zweifel Jones' Ansatz der Vorzug zu geben, der die Laufbahn folgendermaßen beschreibt : *ppo I Illyr.* 364 ;

(12) Cf. neben *PLRE* 1,737-40 und Settipani 2000, SS. 375f. auch Coşkun 2002b mit Ergänzungen und Modifikationen bes. zu Antonius *ppo* 376-78, Olybrius *ppo* 377-79 und Probus *ppo* 379-80 ; zu einer ausführlichen Diskussion der Quellen und Literatur cf. demnächst Coşkun, *Gratian*.

(13) Cf. Seeck 1919, SS. 71,20 ; 91,43, dazu Amm. 26,5,4-6 ; 27,11,1.3 ; 30,5,4 ; Stein 1925, SS. 364-75 ; 1934, SS. 334ff. ; Mazzarino 1967 ; 1973 und 1974 ; Piganiol 1972, S. 269 ; von Haehling 1979, SS. 101 ; 297f. ; Chastagnol 1982, S. 547 ; Kuhoff 1983, SS. 270f. ; 387 Anm. 22 ; Ausbüttel 1988, SS. 33ff. ; Delmaire 1989, S. 81 ; Pergami 1993, SS. XVIIf. und 1996, SS. 417-24 mit weiterer Lit. in Anm. 37 und 40 ; *PCBE* 2,2, SS. 1840f.

ppo II Gall. 366 ; *ppo III Ital. et Illyr.* 368-75 ; *ppo IV Ital. et Illyr.* 383 ([14]).

Wie ich an anderer Stelle dargelegt habe, muß eine solche Rekonstruktion nicht notwendigerweise davon ausgehen, daß das Consulat a. 380 in zwei an Probus *ppo* gerichteten Gesetzen von den Herausgebern des *Codex Theodosianus* verwechselt wurde ; vielmehr ist der homonyme *ppo Ital. et Illyr.* 379-80 von Petronius Probus zu unterscheiden ([15]). Eine minutiöse Rekonstruktion der Fasten unter Gratian ergibt, daß Petronius Probus erneut ungefähr im Juni 383 zum *ppo (IV Ital. et Illyr.)* ernannt wurde, während sein Vorgänger Hypatius zuletzt am 28.5.383 im Amt nachgewiesen ist ([16]).

Der letzte Beleg seiner *ppo* datiert vom 20.10.<383>, denn das Postconsulat (*post cons. Merobaudis II et Saturnini*) läßt erkennen, daß das Gesetz Anfang 384 bearbeitet wurde (*CTh* 6,30,6). Schon bald darauf scheint er seinen Abschied erhalten zu haben, denn die Kaiserinmutter Justina, die neue Herrin von Mailand, versuchte, die katholische Übermacht in Italien auszumanövrieren. So zeigt auch die letzte erhaltene Constitution das Bemühen, die Hofbeamtenschaft vor Übergriffen des *ppo* zu schützen ([17]).

(14) Cf. *CIL* 5,3344 ; 6,1752f. ; Jones 1964, SS. 85-89 ; *PLRE* 1, SS. 737-40 ; Cameron 1985a ; Krause 1987, SS. 289-93 ; Pelizzari 1998, SS. 27f. mit Anm. 24 ; mit weiteren Abweichungen betreffs a. 364 auch Arnheim 1972, SS. 196f. und Migl 1994, SS. 144f. ; betreffs a. 387 auch Fitz 1983, SS. 41f. ; 1994, SS. 1215-19.

(15) Cf. *CTh* 6,28,2, <*dat.* Herbst 379>, *pp.* 12.3.380 in Hadrumetum ; 6,35,10 an *ppo*, *dat.* 27.6.380, dazu die Verweise o. in Anm. 12.

(16) Cf. *CTh* 2,19,5 an Hypatius *ppo*, *dat.* 28.5.383 *Patavi* ; *CTh* 11,13,1 an Probus *ppo*, wurde am 19. <Aug.> 383 „gegeben" (cf. auch *PLRE* 1, SS. 739 ; Errington 1992, S. 458 Anm. 92), doch bestätigt eine auf stilkritischer Basis erstellte Palingenesie, daß die Emanation ca. im Juni erfolgte, cf. Coşkun 2002b und Coşkun, *Gratian.* Der Personalwechsel könnte also eine unmittelbare Reaktion auf die Erhebung des Maximus noch unter Gratian gewesen sein, der sich in der Krise die Unterstützung der mächtigsten Senatorenfamilie Italiens erhoffte. Anders Piganiol 1972, S. 269, der Probus ausdrücklich zu Justinas Kandidaten erklärt ; ähnlich z.B. Williams & Friell 1994, S. 39.

(17) Zur Religionspolitik jener Jahre cf. auch Piganiol 1972, SS. 269-73 ; Matthews 1975, SS. 183-222 ; Demandt 1989, SS. 130f. ; McLynn 1994, SS. 158-219 ; Williams & Friell 1994, SS. 47-60 ; Pietri & Pietri 1996, SS. 458-61. Migl 1994, S. 145 setzt *CTh* 6,30,6 (das er weiterhin a. 384 datiert) in einen

Sollte Nonius Atticus tatsächlich der Nachfolger des Petronius Probus sein, wie in der bisherigen Literatur angenommen wird, dann könnte die Sukzession sogar noch in den Oktober 383 fallen, da Praetextatus die *ppo Ital. et Illyr.* bereits am 21.5.384 innehatte ([18]). Doch wären sowohl die *ppo* des Petronius Probus als auch diejenige des Atticus ungewöhnlich kurz ; deswegen ist für Atticus eher eine *ppo Illyr.* anzusetzen, während der genaue Zeitpunkt der Ablösung durch Praetextatus offenbleibt.

Als Magnus Maximus im Frühjahr 387 gewaltsam die Alpen überquerte, wiederholte sich zumindest in Ansätzen die Geschichte des Jahres 383 : Denn Socrates bezeugt, daß Petronius Probus damals erneut eine prominente Stellung im engsten um den Kaiser gescharten Kreis innehatte und diesen sogar nach Thessalonike begleitete. Allerdings geht aus dem Bericht keineswegs hervor, daß er wiederum im Rang eines *ppo* gestanden habe ; diese Behauptung des Sozomenus erklärt sich dadurch, daß er die Berichte des Socrates zu den Jahren 383 und 387 kontaminiert, wie bereits Palanque erkannt hat ([19]).

Vettius Agorius **Praetextatus** :

Quaest., praet., corr. Tusc. et Umbr., cons. Lusit., procos. Achaeae 362-64, *puR* 367-68, *ppo Ital. Illyr. et Afr.* ca. x.383/v.384-ix./x.384, *cos. des.* 385, † ix./x.384.

Die *ppo* des profiliertesten heidnischen Senators der 360-er bis frühen 380-er Jahre ist allein durch zwei datierte Zeugnisse nachgewiesen : *CTh* 6,5,2 (21.5.384) sowie *CJ* 1,54,5 (*dat. Aquileiae* 9.9.384). Seine gleichzeitige Zuständigkeit für *Italia et Illyricum* geht aus drei Inschriften her-

weiteren verwaltungsgeschichtlichen Kontext ; dadurch wird jedoch die hier vertretene tagespolitische Motivation nicht ausgeschlossen.

(18) So oder ähnlich z.B. PALANQUE 1933, S. 71 ; JONES 1964, S. 85 ; *PLRE* 1,1051 ; MATTHEWS 1975, S. 179 ; VON HAEHLING 1979, SS. 300f. ; FITZ 1983, SS. 45f. (Ablösung durch Atticus im Nov. 383) ; COŞKUN 2002b. Dagegen postuliert SEECK 1914, S. 26 ; 1919, S. 474 eine kollegiale *ppo Ital. et Illyr.*, so daß Probus bis ca. Ende 384 amtiert hätte, während Atticus im Frühjahr 384 durch Praetextatus abgelöst worden sei ; ebenso z.B. ENßLIN 1954, Sp. 2438.

(19) Cf. SOCR. *Hist. eccl.* 5,11,11-12 ; SOZ. *Hist. eccl.* 7,13,11, dazu PALANQUE 1933, S. 117 (der seine eigene Interpretation jedoch 1951, S. 14 ignoriert, cf. auch STEIN-PALANQUE 1959, S. 528 Anm. 83) sowie die o. in Anm. 12-14 genannte Lit. Trotz des offensichtlichen Fehlers postulieren z.B. STEIN 1934, S. 44 ; MAZZARINO 1942, SS. 8-21 ; 47 ; ENßLIN 1954, Sp. 2438 ; VON HAEHLING 1979, S. 303 ; FITZ 1994, SS. 1215-19 immer noch eine *ppo* 387.

vor, wobei diese jedoch offenlassen, ob Praetextatus Klein- oder Großillyricum verwaltete ([20]).

Praetextatus starb noch a. 384 als designierter *cos.* 385. Da der *praefectus urbis Romae* (*puR*) Symmachus in seiner Betroffenheit um Ablösung bat (rel. 10), setzt man den Todesfall in der bisherigen Forschung auf Ende November oder Anfang Dezember, um den Abstand zur letzten datierbaren *relatio* des Symmachus möglichst gering zu veranschlagen (rel. 45 von ca. 9.1.385). Diese Rekonstruktion hält aber einer Überprüfung nicht stand: Praetextatus' Nachfolger amtierte nämlich bereits vor dem 4.11.<384>; außerdem verlangen die Implikationen der rel. 24 sowie des Consulats des Bauto *mag. mil.*, der noch rechtzeitig für Praetextatus einspringen konnte, daß ihn der Tod geraume Zeit vor Jahresende, schon im September oder spätestens Oktober, ereilte ([21]).

(20) Cf. *CIL* 6,1777 = *ILS* 1259; leicht abweichend *CIL* 6,1779 = *ILS* 1259 und *CIL* 6,1778 (*praefectus praetorio II Italiae et Illyrici*), doch erweist ein Vergleich die Iterationsziffer als Fehler des Steinmetzen; seine Vorlage wird *VII* Legationen und eine nicht iterierte *ppo* aufgeführt haben, wie heute weitgehend anerkannt ist; cf. bes. PALANQUE 1934a, SS. 335-39 gegen seine frühere Ansicht einer *ppo Ital. I* 376 (1933, S. 71; BORGHESI-CUQ 1897, 2, SS. 453f. setzten dagegen eine *ppo I Illyr.* unter Gratian an); trotz des Widerspruchs bei STEIN 1934, S. 334 Anm. 2 (gefolgt von HIGGINS 1935, SS. 626f.; LOT 1936, S. 329; NICOLAAS 1940, SS. 63-75), der eine Iteration ehrenhalber fordert, schließen sich PALANQUE z.B. *PLRE* 1,722-24; VERA 1983a, S. 415 Anm. 226 und KAHLOS 1998, SS. 67f. (mit Abdruck der Inschriften S. 248-53) an; ähnlich LAMBRECHTS 1955, S. 18 Anm. 27. Zu Karriere und Priesterämtern des Praetextatus cf. außerdem BLOCH 1963, SS. 195f.; 203f.; 207-10; VON HAEHLING 1979, S. 301; FITZ 1983, S. 46; 1994, SS. 1227f.; NIQUET 2000, S. 249; LEPPIN 2001. Ungenau ist MATTHEWS 1975, S. 179: „After Atticus, in the last months of the year, came Vettius Agorius Praetextatus to hold the prefecture".

(21) Symmachus' Demissionsgesuch wurde also offenbar nicht stattgegeben, wie bereits RAUSCHEN 1897, S. 178 erkannt hat; cf. die ausführlichere Besprechung bei COŞKUN 2002c, wo unter anderem der Versuch von VERA 1981, SS. 341f.; 1983b, SS. 133-55 und KAHLOS 1998, SS. 69; 183f. widerlegt wird, den Todestag in das kurze Intervall 8./10.12.384 zu setzen. Dagegen ist die in *PCBE* 2,1817 Nr. 1 genannte Zeitspanne (2.9./1.1.385) zu weit gesteckt. Zum Consulat cf. die Quellen in *CLRE* 304f., die weder im Westen noch im Osten eine Verwirrung zeigen; mit einer solchen wäre aber bei einer Änderung der Designation nach Okt. sicher zu rechnen.

Principius :

?*Vic. urb.* 383-384?, [*mag. off.* 384], *ppo Ital.* ix./x.384-xi.386/ Frühling 387.

CJ 1,48,2 vom 13.2.384 adressiert Principius als *p.u.*, was aber schon allein mit Blick auf die Fasten der *puR/puC* falsch sein muß ([22]). Während Stein erwägt, das Gesetz dem homonymen *puR* 373 zuzuschreiben, akzeptiert die Mehrheit der Forscher, daß der Beamte als Vorgesetzter von *iudices* eine andere Funktion ausgeübt habe ([23]). Seeck ergänzt ein Postconsulat und glaubt das Gesetz am 13.2.<385> an Principius *p<po>* gegeben. Aber sowohl die Ergänzung des Postconsulats als auch die Annahme einer kollegialen *ppo* mit Neoterius (der zuletzt am 12.6.385 nachgewiesen sei) sind unbefriedigend ([24]).

Die bisher ansprechendste Lösung findet sich in *PLRE* : Sie läßt das Datum unverändert und berichtigt den Titel mit Blick auf ein anschließend bekleidetes *mag. off.* in *vic.* ([25]). Dabei könnte die versehentliche Verwendung des Titels *p.u.* eine stadtrömische Provenienz der Quelle und

(22) So die allgemeine Auffassung, wenn auch die Fasten von CHASTAGNOL 1960, SS. xvii-ix ; 1962 ; *PLRE* 1, SS. 1054-57 und bei VON HAEHLING 1979, SS. 112-14 ; 357-63 revisionsbedürftig sind ; unstrittig ist indes, daß Aventius der unmittelbare Vorgänger des Symmachus *puR* 384-85 und Anicius Auchenius Bassus sein Vorvorgänger war ; eine *puC* ist auch deswegen unwahrscheinlich, weil a. 384 bereits Clearchus und sein Nachfolger Themistius nachgewiesen sind. Zur *puR* 383-387 cf. jetzt COŞKUN 2002c ; zur *puR* und *puC* 372-84 demnächst COŞKUN, *Gratian*.

(23) Cf. STEIN 1934, S. 343 Anm. 1 mit Verweis auf *CTh* 13,3,10 vom 29.4.373 (SEECK ; 370 *codd.*) ; *contra* PALANQUE 1934b, S. 711 ; CHASTAGNOL 1962, S. 190 Anm. 49 ; allerdings ist STEIN zuzugestehen, daß die in der Disposition genannten *iudices* nicht zwingend Provinzstatthalter sein müssen. Weitere Lit. bei CLAUSS 1980, S. 185 Anm. 208.

(24) Cf. SEECK 1919, S. 266 ; CHASTAGNOL 1962, S. 190 ; MARTÍNEZ FAZIO 1972, SS. 196f. Anm. 27-29 ; CLAUSS 1980, S. 185. Gegen den 'Mißbrauch' des Postconsulats cf. *CLRE* SS. 77-84 ; COŞKUN 2002b. BORGHESI-CUQ 1897, 2, SS. 559 blieben im übrigen mit ihrem Postulat allein, aus *CJ* 7,62,26 (o.D.) auf einen *ppo Ital.* 385 namens Pelagius zu schließen ; verwirrt ist ihr Eintrag zu Principius, dem sie a. 385-386 (vermeintlich unter Gratian) eine gemeinsame *ppo Ital.* mit Neoterius a. 385 (unter Valentinian) zuschreiben.

(25) Cf. *PLRE* 1, SS. 726 Nr. 2, gefolgt von FITZ 1983, SS. 46f. ; 1994, SS. 1230f.

somit das Amt des *vic. urb.* nahelegen ; die Fasten haben zudem eine passende Lücke für das Amtsjahr 383-384 ([26]).

Das einzige Zeugnis für ein Hofmagisterium ist *CTh* 1,9,2 *ad Principium mag. off.* ; es betrifft *agentes in rebus* und wurde am 9.3.386 in Hadrumetum proponiert. In der Forschung wird die Emanation dieser Constitution überwiegend vor den Erlaß des ersten a. 385 an Principius *ppo* gesandten Gesetzes datiert ([27]). Allerdings hat es den Anschein, daß Principius bereits am 4.11.<384> (*CTh* 13,1,14, *dat. Veronae*) als *ppo* angeschrieben wurde ([28]). Dann läge freilich der seltene Fall vor, daß die

(26) Cf. *PLRE* 1, SS. 1078 ; zur vermutlich römischen Provenienz auch die Beispiele *CTh* 6,22,1 (dazu SEECK 1919, S. 173 und *PLRE* 1,836 Nr. 25) und 8,12,3 (dazu SEECK 1919, S. 173 oder *PLRE* 1,184f.). Wie aber noch weiter unten zu sehen ist, besteht eine andere Möglichkeit darin, den Titel in *ppo* und das Datum auf den 13. <Sept.> 384 zu ändern. Ähnlich bereits PALANQUE 1933, SS. 72f., der die von SEECK angesetzte kollegiale Verwaltung der *ppo* zu eliminieren suchte, indem er in *CJ* 1,48,2 neben dem Titel auch den Monatsnamen von *Feb.* in *Sept.* ändert und in *CTh* 9,40,14 *Iun.* in *Iul.* korrigiert. Bei solch zahlreichen Manipulationen ist freilich Vorsicht geboten ; PALANQUE 1934b, S. 711 zog seinen Vorschlag wieder zurück. Bevor keine genauere Stilanalyse der Gesetze jener Jahre vorliegt, haben die verschiedenen Vorschläge lediglich hypothetischen Charakter.

(27) Cf. SEECK 1919, SS. 77f. : vor 13.2.385 (*CJ* 1,48,2) ; VON HAEHLING 1979, S. 302 : vor 1.6.385 (*CTh* 9,40,14) ; *PLRE* und FITZ 1994, SS. 1230f. : vor 31.8.385 (*CTh* 6,30,10). Nach CLAUSS 1980, SS. 185f. war Principius der Nachfolger des Macedonius, der im Herbst 383 ausgeschieden sei, und behielt dieses Amt bis Anfang a. 385. Dagegen behauptet PALANQUE 1933, SS. 72f., daß *CTh* 1,9,2 und ein weiteres Gesetz, das seltsamerweise in Aquileia am 3.11.386 angenommen und in Rom am 24.11. proponiert worden sei (s.u. Anm. 31), einen *mag. off.* 386 bezeugen, der mit dem gleichnamigen *ppo* 385 identisch sein könne, aber nicht müsse. Zu diesem Zweck ändert PALANQUE den überlieferten Titel in jenen drei Fragmenten sowie das Datum in *CTh* 13,5,17 an Principius *ppo* von *dat. XII kal. Mai.* 386 in *dat. XII kal. Nov.* <385, *pp.* ...> 386. Damit erntete er scharfe Kritik u.a. von STEIN 1934, S. 342, während ihm *PLRE* folgte, um eine Überschneidung mit der Dienstperiode des Eusignius *ppo* zu vermeiden. Dieser ist wiederum ab Jan. 386 als *ppo* belegt, doch bildete das Illyricum seinen Sprengel.

(28) Nach SEECK 1919, S. 266 gab Valentinian das Gesetz am 4.<8.>385 auf seinem Weg von Mailand nach Aquileia in Verona ; dagegen erklärt *PLRE*, daß es am 4.11.385 in Verona proponiert worden sei. Doch könnte auch allein das Consulat der Veröffentlichung angehören, denn tatsächlich reiste Valentinian

Publikation von *CTh* 1,9,2 (zumindest im afrikanischen Hadrumetum) aus nicht näher bestimmbaren Gründen weit über ein Jahr gedauert hätte. Vorzuziehen ist deswegen die alternative Erklärung, daß Principius *mag. off.* und Principius *ppo* nicht identisch, sondern enge Verwandte waren ; möglicherweise ist dann auch das Vicariat dem späteren *mag. off.* und nicht dem *ppo* zuzuschreiben ([29]). Leider ist es beim aktuellen Stand der Forschung nicht möglich, stilistische Kriterien bei der Datierung zu berücksichtigen, so daß jede Rekonstruktion hypothetisch bleiben muß. Allerdings ist unter den gegebenen Umständen die plausibelste Deutung, daß ein Principius zwischen Mitte September und Ende Oktober 384 Praetextatus' Nachfolge antrat ([30]).

Seine Zuständigkeit für Italien ist durch eine Constitution zur Sonntagsruhe bezeugt, die an drei Stellen des *CTh* überliefert ist ; sie

zwischen dem 9.9. (*CJ* 1,54,5) und 29.11.<384> (*CTh* 4,17,4 und 11,30,44) gewiß über Verona von Aquileia nach Mailand (entgegen SEECK traf er nämlich nicht schon am 26.10.384 dort ein, s.o. zu Petronius Probus/*CTh* 6,30,6). Im Unterschied dazu fielen Emanation und Publikation von *CTh* 8,7,16 (18.9.) ; 1,2,9 = 11,1,20 (24.9.) ; 10,20,12 (26.9.) ; 12,12,10 (5.11.) ; 8,7,17 (10.12.) und 11,16,17 (11.12.) gleichermaßen a. 385, wie jeweils durch den Emanationsort Aquileia bestätigt wird ; denn von Aug. bis Dez. 385 ist Valentinian dort erneut nachgewiesen.

(29) Homonyme, die (fast) gleichzeitig höchste Ämter bekleideten, waren keine Seltenheit, cf. z.B. COŞKUN 2002b. Im konkreten Fall ist eine Rekonstruktion dadurch erschwert, daß keine weiteren Namen oder Verwandtschaftsbeziehungen überliefert sind ; nicht einmal Symmachus oder Ambrosius scheinen Briefe an einen der Principii gerichtet zu haben. Es ist deswegen denkbar, daß sie Justina vielleicht als arianische Glaubensgenossen nahestanden, zumal AMBR. *epist.* 20,3 MAUR. = 76,3 ZELZER, *CSEL* 82,10,3, S. 109 den proarianischen Einsatz eines anonymen *ppo* im Mailänder Kirchenstreit a. 385/86 bezeugt. Der *ppo* 384 könnte mit dem *puR* 373, der ?*vic. urb.*? und *mag. off.* mit dessen Sohn oder Neffen identisch sein.

(30) Zur stilkritischen Methode cf. COŞKUN 2002b ; zur bisherigen Behandlung der Gesetze Valentinians II. HONORÉ 1998, SS. 180-89. — Theoretisch könnte das o.g. Gesetz *CJ* 1,48,2 auch am 13. <Sept.> (statt Feb.) 384 an den *ppo* (statt *p.u.*) gerichtet worden sein ; doch bleibt dies rein hypothetisch, s.o. Anm. 26. — In jedem Fall richtet sich das in nur einer Handschrift überlieferte Gesetz *CTh* 8,5,46, *Nynegio ppo* (sic), *dat.* 9.4.385 *Med.*, an den damaligen *ppo Ital.*, da es einen expliziten Rombezug aufweist ; die beiden vorangehenden und folgenden Titel adressieren Cynegius *ppo* (sc. *Or.*) und bilden die Voraussetzung für die Textverderbnis.

wurde am 3.11.386 in Aquileia versandt und am 24.11.386 in Rom in Empfang genommen ([31]). Entgegen *PLRE* besteht kein Grund dazu, das Gesetz a. 385 zu datieren, um eine Kollision mit gleichzeitig bezeugten *ppo* zu vermeiden ; denn diese waren im Illyricum eingesetzt. Die Parallelität ihrer Amtsführung geht auch aus *CTh* 9,40,14 an Principius vom 1.6.385 (nicht 18.9.385 oder 1.1.386, wie *PLRE* vorschlägt) und 13,5,17 vom 20.4.386 (nicht Ende 385) hervor. Bis Frühjahr 387 wurde er von Eusignius abgelöst.

Flavius **Eusignius** :

Procos. Afr. ca. iv.383-ca. iv.384, *ppo Illyr. (Or.)* ca. xii.385-mindestens xi.386, *ppo II Ital. et Illyr. (Occ.)* ca. Frühling 387 ([32]).

Gewöhnlich gilt Eusignius als *ppo Ital. et Illyr.* i.386-v.387 ([33]). Doch legt die bis November 386 bezeugte *ppo Ital. et Illyr.* des Principius nahe, daß er zunächst das östliche Illyricum verwaltete. *CTh* 1,32,5 (*ad Eusignium ppo, dat. Med.* 29.7.386) bestätigt diese Zuständigkeit ausdrücklich, indem es allein Macedonia, Dacia Mediterranea, Moesia und Dardania betrifft ([34]). Die übrigen *ad Eusignium ppo* gerichteten Gesetze enthalten keinen aussagekräftigen Hinweis auf den Amtssprengel ; die

(31) Die überlieferten Kanzleivermerke sind außergewöhnlich und vermutlich fehlerhaft : *CTh* 2,8,18, *pp.* 3.11. *Aquil., acc.* 24.11. *Rom.* ; 8,8,3, *dat.* 3.11. *Aquil., acc.* 24.11. *Rom.* ; 11,7,13, *pp.* 3.11. *Aquil.* ; möglicherweise lagen den Kommissaren zwei verschiedene Ausfertigungen vor ; beide waren in Aquileia gegeben worden, die eine von ihnen ebendort proponiert, die andere in Rom archiviert. Zur Interpretation PALANQUES s.o. Anm. 26.

(32) Cf. *CTh* 12,1,95, *ad Eusignium procos. Afr., dat.* 26.2.383 ; 1,3,1, *dat.* 16.6. in Verona, *acc.* 31.7.383. Das frühere Gesetz wurde während des *mare clausum* an den designierten Nachfolger des noch amtierenden Helvius Vindicianus adressiert, cf. auch BARNES 1985, S. 274 ; demnächst COŞKUN, *Gratian* ; abweichend z.B. *PLRE* 1, SS. 309f. ; 1074 ; VON HAEHLING 1979, S. 418.

(33) Cf. z.B. BORGHESI-CUQ 1897, 2, SS. 562f. ; PALLU DE LESSERT 1901, SS. 95f. ; SEECK 1914, S. 27 und 1919, S. 474 (im Kollegium mit Probus a. 387, s. dazu aber o. Anm. 19 mit weiterer Lit.) ; PALANQUE 1933, S. 74 ; 1951, SS. 10f. (anders erwägt er 1934, S. 711 Anm. 2 die Möglichkeit eines *ppo Illyr. Or.* 386-87) ; *PLRE* 1,309f. ; MARTÍNEZ FAZIO 1972, S. 294 ; VERA 1981, S. 499 ; FITZ 1983, S. 47 ; 1994, SS. 1231-1233 ; PELIZZARI 1998, S. 184. Abweichend läßt *PCBE* 1, SS. 709f. die *ppo* 23.1./28.3.386 beginnen.

(34) Zur Interpretation s.o. Kap. II mit Anm. 9.

Emanation des frühesten erhaltenen dürfte bis in den November oder Dezember 385 hinaufreichen ([35]). Aus zwei Briefen des Symmachus ist ferner zu schließen, daß sich Rom ca. a. 387 in Eusignius' Kompetenzbereich befand und er demgemäß versetzt worden war. Mit dem Einfall des Magnus Maximus im Frühjahr 387 verliert sich jede weitere Spur von ihm ([36]).

2. *Die praefecti praetorio Illyrici (Orientalis) a. 383-387*

Nonius **Atticus** [Maximus] :

Ppo Illyr. (Or.) Herbst 383/iii.384-maximal viii.384, *cos.* 397.

Nach dem durch die Überlieferung vermittelten Eindruck hat Atticus keinen großartigen *cursus honorum* durchlaufen ; vielmehr erweisen ihn verschiedene Zeugnisse als Mitglied einer alten und wohlhabenden römischen Senatorenfamilie, allem voran sein Consulat a. 397 ([37]). *CTh* 13,1,12 *ad Atticum ppo, dat. Med.* 13.3.384, ist das einzige Zeugnis für seine *ppo*. Regelmäßig wird diese Amtsführung in Italien lokalisiert, so daß er entweder als Nachfolger des Petronius Probus sowie Vorgänger

(35) *CTh* 11,37,1, *dat.* 18.11.<385> *Med.*, <bearbeitet> 386 ; 8,8,4, *dat.* 3.12.<385> *Med.*, <b.> 386 ; 12,1,114, *dat.* 25.12.<385, b.> 386 ; 16,1,4, *dat.* 23.1.386 *Med.*, und 16,4,1 mit gleichem, gekürztem Inhalt, *dat.* 23.1.386 ?*Const.* (so die Überlieferung ; aber s.u.) ; 12,12,11, *dat.* 15.2.386 *Ticini* ; 8,7,18, *dat.* 14.7.386 *Med.* ; 1,29,6, *dat.* 25.1.387 ; 15,3,3, *dat.* 26.2.387 ; 6,24,4, *dat.* 6.3.387 *Med.* ; 11,22,3, *dat.* 14.4.387 ; 11,30,48, *dat.* 19.5.387 *Med.* Problematisch ist *CTh* 16,4,1 : Mommsen liest *Constantp.* ; ähnlich Seeck 1919, S. 111,8, der den Ort aber für eine Interpolation hält und ihn gänzlich verwirft. Daß hier ursprünglich ein Kürzel für den Publikationsort gestanden hat, der später mit Constantinopel verwechselt wurde (z.B. *Cor[intho]*), ist ebenfalls denkbar, während das numidische Constantina aus den im Text genannten Gründen nicht in Frage kommt ; am wahrscheinlichsten ist freilich die Übernahme des Ortsdatums des vorangehenden Titels (*CTh* 16,3,2) durch einen unachtsamen Kopisten, so daß die Angabe völlig wertlos sein dürfte.

(36) Symm. *epist.* 4,70 betrifft denselben Bauskandal wie *epist.* 5,76 an Licinius, s.u. Kap. IV.3.

(37) Das *cognomen* Maximus, das ihm de Rossi zuschreibt (cf. *ICVR* 1,454 = *ICVR* n.s. 2,6058 ; *PLRE* 1, S. 586 Nr. 34), ist mit Cameron 1985b, SS. 109f. zu verwerfen ; cf. auch *CLRE* SS. 328f. ; *PCBE* 1, S. 216 ; Settipani 2000, S. 119 Anm. 6 bes. zur Genealogie. Cf. ferner *Epigr. Bob.* 57,2 *columen urbis, Attice.*

des Praetextatus oder aber als deren Kollege innerhalb desselben italisch-illyrischen Sprengels gilt ([38]).

Doch ist das Konstrukt der kollegialen *ppo* überholt ; und eine Sukzession des Petronius Probus durch Atticus setzte voraus, daß beide Perioden zusammen weniger als ein Jahr gedauert hätten, obwohl ein *ppo* unter Gratian in der Regel ein bis drei Jahre lang diente. Weder das genannte Gesetz noch die erhaltenen Briefe, die Symmachus und Ambrosius an Atticus richteten ([39]), geben Aufschluß auf seinen Zuständigkeitsbereich. Nichts hindert also an der Annahme, daß er im Illyricum amtierte. Im Gegenteil würde es erklären, daß weder Symmachus noch Ambrosius Empfehlungsschreiben oder Bittgesuche an ihn adressierten. Eher im Herbst 383 als im Frühling 384 übernahm er diese Position, da bereits am 1.9.384 sein Nachfolger bezeugt ist.

Flavius **Neoterius** :

Notarius 365, *ppo I Illyr. (Or.)* i.380-i.381, *ppo II Illyr. (Or.)* ca. viii.384-ca. vii.(/xii.)385, *ppo III Ital. et Illyr. (Occ.)* Frühling/Herbst 389-nach 1.1.390, *cos.* 390.

In der Literatur gilt Neoterius überwiegend als *ppo I Or.*, *ppo II Ital. et Illyr.* und *ppo III Gall.*, was aber schwerlich mit den Quellen in Einklang zu bringen ist und zudem mehrere unwahrscheinliche Praefectenkollegien voraussetzt ([40]). An dieser Stelle muß sich die Besprechung auf die

(38) Cf. z.B. BORGHESI-CUQ 1897, 2, SS. 555f. ; PALANQUE 1933, S. 71 (abweichend 1934, S. 712 Anm. 1 : *ppo Illyr.*) ; *PLRE* 1, S. 586 Nr. 34 ; VON HAEHLING 1979, SS. 300f. (mit weiterer Lit.) ; VERA 1981, S. 503 ; 1983a, S. 413 ; COŞKUN 2002b. Zur kollegialen Verwaltung und angeblichen personalpolitischen Intention des Theodosius s.o. Anm. 5 ; unentschieden bleibt z.B. RAUSCHEN 1897, S. 176.

(39) SYMM. *epist.* 7,30-34 a. 396/397 ; AMBR. *epist.* 88 MAUR. = 7,42 ZELZER, *CSEL* 72,10,2,41.

(40) Cf. SEECK 1883, SS. CLIIIf. ; BORGHESI-CUQ 1897, 2, SS. 559-61 ; PALANQUE 1933, S. 54 ; 59 ; 72 ; 81f. (anders 1934b, SS. 709f.) ; *PLRE* 1, SS. 623 ; MARTÍNEZ FAZIO 1972, SS. 196f. Anm. 27-29 ; VON HAEHLING 1979, SS. 69 ; 301 ; 305 ; FITZ 1983, S. 46 ; zu den Praefectenkollegien cf. bes. SEECK 1914, S. 26 ; 1919, SS. 473-475 ; STEIN 1934, SS. 344f. ; ENßLIN 1954, Sp. 2437 ; GUTSFELD 2000, Sp. 836 ; s. dagegen o. Kap. I mit Anm. 4 und IV.1 zu Probus ; ferner demnächst COŞKUN, *Gratian* zu Neoterius *ppo I*, COŞKUN 2004b zu *ppo III*. Widersprüchlich sind die Positionen bei FITZ 1994, S. 1221 : Neoterius sei *ppo Ital.* 385, Licinius *ppo* 385 „in Illyricum?" ; SS. 1228f. : Neoterius sei Nach-

ppo II beschränken. Zahlreiche an Neoterius *ppo* gerichtete Gesetze tragen das Consulat a. 385 ; die Reihe beginnt am 25.2. (*CTh* 9,38,8, *dat. Med.*) und endet am 26.7. (*CTh* 2,26,4) ; überdies wurde *CTh* 8,5,43 laut Überlieferung bereits am 1.2.384 an denselben gegeben.

Bisherige Forscher sahen sich entweder genötigt, eine kollegiale Amtsführung mit Principius anzusetzen oder massiv in die Überlieferung einzugreifen, um eine bereinigte Abfolge von Praetextatus, Neoterius und Principius in der *ppo Ital. et Illyr.* zu erzielen. Regelmäßig wird *CTh* 8,5,43 vermittels eines ergänzten Postconsulates auf den 1.2. <*p.c.*>384 = 385 datiert, damit eine Überschneidung mit Praetextatus *ppo Ital. et Illyr.* 384 vermieden wird. Seit Stein faßt man diese Personalentscheidung oftmals als Indikator dafür auf, daß Theodosius Italien dominiert habe, doch ist die Quellenlage in dieser Hinsicht alles andere als eindeutig ([41]).

folger des Praetextatus *ppo Ital. et Illyr.* (gemeint ist nach S. 1227 einschließlich der östlichen Dioecesen) ; S. 1230 : Licinius sei *ppo* laut *CJ* 11,60,1 *ppo Illyr.* „während des Aufenthalts des Theodosius in Italien" (Sommer 384) mit Berufung auf ENßLIN 1954, Sp. 2438 ; der „Sonderstatus" des Illyricum gehe auch aus *CTh* 8,4,17 hervor, s. dazu o. Anm. 10 ; entgegen *PLRE* sei der in *CJ* 11,60,1 genannte Tiberianus nicht der *comes Afr.* 325/327, s.u. Kap. IV.3.

(41) Cf. SEECK 1919, SS. 264ff. zur Datumskorrektur, PALANQUE (wie o. Anm. 38f., mit weiterer Lit.) zur Abfolge der drei *ppo* ; ebenso z.B. auch VERA 1981, 276. Zum Postconsulat s. auch o. Anm. 24. – Nach STEIN 1934, SS. 343-345 zwang Theodosius Valentinian a. 384 Neoterius (als Kollegen des Principius *ppo Ital.*) und Licinius als *ppo Illyr.* auf ; doch habe sich Valentinian bis a. 386 emanzipiert und beide Gefolgsmänner des Ostkaisers entlassen, was wiederum zu einer Abkühlung des Verhältnisses bis a. 387 geführt habe. STEIN ignoriert freilich, daß Licinius Vertrauter des Symmachus *puR* 384-85 und vermutlich ein heidnischer römischer Senator wie Praetextatus *ppo* 383/84 und Atticus *ppo* 383/84 war, s.u. Kap. IV.3. Auch die angebliche Rolle des Neoterius bleibt fraglich ; denn er mochte genauso gut a. 379/380 als Vertrauter Gratians an den Osthof gelangt sein (seine Herkunft bleibt allerdings offen, cf. MATTHEWS 1974, S. 102 entgegen *PLRE* zu *epist.* 5,46 *ad communem patriam*). Jedenfalls sprechen weder Theodosius' Heirat mit Galla a. 387 noch sein Feldzug a. 388 für die angebliche Verstimmung zwischen den Kaisern. VERA 1983a, SS. 411-414, fordert eine separate *ppo Illyr. (Or.)* 379-mind. 384 unter Theodosius, kommt jedoch nicht daran vorbei, Valentinians Zuständigkeit für diese Region a. 386 einzugestehen. Die nicht überzeugende Prämisse führt zu der widersinnigen Konsequenz, daß Dacia und Macedonia nicht an Gratian, wohl aber an seinen unfähigen und arianisch gesonnenen Bruder zurückgegeben habe. Die Erklärung sieht VERA im Anliegen des Theodosius, durch die Einsetzung des Neoterius („un

Im übrigen fehlt jedes Anzeichen für Neoterius' genauen Sprengel ([42]). Da sich Principius aber in Italien nachweisen läßt, ist Neoterius' Amtsführung wohl ins Illyricum zu setzen. Die zeitliche Überschneidung mit Atticus' *ppo* entfällt, wenn man <Sep(t).> statt Feb. 384 liest ([43]). Für eine 'rückwärtige Verlängerung' seiner *ppo* bis in den Sommer 384 spricht nicht zuletzt auch der Umstand, daß er möglicherweise schon im Juli 385 durch Eutropius, spätestens aber bis Dezember 385 durch Eusignius abgelöst wurde. Vielleicht wurde *CTh* 2,26,4 an Neoterius *ppo* also am 26.7.385 nicht erlassen, sondern weitergeleitet ([44]).

Eutropius :

Palatinus (unter Julian), ?*mag. epist.*? [*mag. mem.*] ca. a. 369 und Verfasser des *Breviarium* (unter Valens) ; *procos. Asiae* 371-72, *ppo Or.* ca. i.380-vii.381, ?*ppo II Illyr.* S/H385?, *cos.* 387, *comes consistorianus* 390.

suo stretto collaboratore") zum *ppo Ital. et Illyr.* seinen Einfluß auf das gesamte Territorium Valentinians zu erweitern. Aber selbst von der fraglichen Bewertung von Neoterius' Rolle einmal abgesehen, stehen dessen Ernennung und die Abtretung des östlichen Illyricum in keinem erkennbaren Kausalzusammenhang. VERA versucht seine These weiterhin durch die Behauptung abzustützen, daß auch Gildo dem jungen Kaiser als *comes rei militaris per Africam* aufgezwungen worden sei. Um das postulierte Nahverhältnis des maurischen Prinzen zum Ostkaiser war es freilich nicht allzu gut bestellt, da er bereits a. 387/388 zu Maximus überlief (cf. z.B. NIXON & SAYLOR RODGERS S. 505 Anm. 136) ; seine Ernennung gründet ebenso wie diejenige seiner Brüder Firmus und Mascezel (*PLRE* 1, SS. 340 Nr. 3 ; 395f. ; 566) oder der fränkischen Generäle in einer regionalen Machtstellung. Bereits MATTHEWS 1975, S. 179 (gefolgt von WILLIAMS & FRIELL 1994, S. 42 ; ähnlich GUTSFELD 2000, Sp. 836) schrieb Neoterius' und Gildos Einsetzung Theodosius zu, doch sei dies eine Schutzmaßnahme gegenüber Maximus gewesen. Weitere Positionen zu Theodosius' Dominanz sind o. in Anm. 6 referiert.

(42) Das in nur einer verderbten Handschrift überlieferte Gesetz *CTh* 8,5,46, *Nynegio ppo* (sic), *dat.* 9.4.385 *Med.*, das tatsächlich einen expliziten Rombezug aufweist, muß ursprünglich an Principius *ppo Ital.* 384-86/87 gerichtet gewesen sein, s.o. Anm. 30.

(43) Eine solche Verderbnis war sehr häufig, cf. SEECK 1919, S. 103. Der Stil der Gesetze Valentinians II. bietet hier keine Entscheidungshilfe, cf. auch HONORÉ 1998, S. 185 mit Anm. 87.

(44) Zur vielfältigen Bedeutung des *dat.*-Vermerkes cf. COŞKUN 2002b.

Die zahlreichen Quellen zu Personen namens Eutropius, die für das 4. Jh. überliefert sind, werden in der Forschung zu sehr unterschiedlichen Biographien zusammengesetzt. Den Höhepunkt der unitarischen Rekonstruktion stellt die Version der *PLRE* dar, während von Haehling die prononcierteste analytische Position vertritt. Im vorliegenden Kontext kann auf eine ausführliche Begründung der einführend zusammengefaßten Mittelposition verzichtet werden ([45]) ; hinreichend ist die Besprechung des jüngsten an Eutropius gerichteten Gesetzes.

Sollte die Überlieferung nicht trügen, wurde er nach einer Unterbrechung von vier Jahren nochmals am 17.7.385 angeschrieben (*CJ* 9,29,3 *Eutropio pp(o)*). Seeck verbindet dieses Gesetz unter breiter Zustimmung mit den zahlreichen Fragmenten vom 16./17.6.380. Der einzige Grund für diesen Eingriff liegt aber in seiner Überzeugung, daß a. 385 Principius und Licinius die verfügbaren Praefectenstellen unter Valentinian II. und Cynegius die *ppo Or.* unter Theodosius innehatte. Doch kann die Ansicht, Licinius habe eine *ppo* 385 versehen, nicht aufrecht erhalten werden ([46]).

(45) Cf. die unterschiedlichen Versionen z.B. bei SEECK 1883, SS. CXXXII-IV ; *PLRE* 1, SS. 317 Nr. 2 (gefolgt von MATTHEWS 1975, S. 9 Anm. 3 ; VERA 1983a, S. 48 ; PELIZZARI 1998, SS. 168f. mit weiterer Lit. ; ähnlich BIRD 1993, SS. vii-xviii) ; von HAEHLING 1979, SS. 211-37 (Zusammenfassung SS. 235-237), der u.a. ein *magisterium epist.* unter Constantius sowie die Identifikation mit dem Burdigalenser Arzt ablehnt ; ähnlich zurückhaltend PORTMANN 1998. Mittelwege finden sich z.B. bei BONAMENTE 1977, S. 187 ; MÜLLER 1995, SS. 4f. ; RATTI 1996, 12f. ; zuletzt BURGESS 2001, der bewiesen hat, daß Eutropius als Verfasser des Abrisses über die Römische Geschichte nicht *mag. mem.* sein konnte. Zu einer ausführlicheren Diskussion und Begründung des resümierten *cursus* cf. demnächst COŞKUN, *Gratian.*

(46) Cf. SEECK 1919, S. 255 (auch SS. 266-268 zu a. 385), dem trotz abweichender Prämissen z.B. auch PALANQUE 1933, S. 59 Anm. 56 ; *PLRE* 1, SS. 317 ; MATTHEWS 2000, S. 232 folgen ; abweichend von HAEHLING 1979, S. 236, der aber ebensowenig einen Eutropius *ppo* 385 kennt. *CJ* 9,29,3 wird auch von HONORÉ 1998 in seiner Besprechung des „Minicodes" vom Juni 380 (SS. 41-43) sowie in den Palingenesien der westlichen und östlichen Gesetze übergangen. Stil und Inhalt des Textes stehen SEECKS Interpretation nicht nachdrücklich entgegen, können dieselbe aber ebensowenig stützen ; dasselbe gilt — zumindest beim aktuellen Forschungsstand (s.o. Anm. 30) — für die hier vertretene Beibehaltung der Überlieferung. Übrigens schreiben Eutropius auch BORGHESI-CUQ 1897, 2, SS. 455f. eine *ppo II Illyr.* 385 zu. Zu Licinius s.u. Kapitel IV.3.

Da das überlieferte Datum aber an den Anfang des mehrmonatigen Intervalls zwischen Neoterius' und Eusignius' *ppo Illyr.* fallen könnte, mochte Eutropius tatsächlich ein zweites Mal zum *ppo* ernannt worden sein. Zugegebenermaßen wäre diese Dienstzeit sehr kurz ; aber es ist denkbar, daß er angesichts seiner langjährigen Erfahrung einmal als Sonderbeauftragter im Praefectenrang ins Illyricum entsandt wurde, andererseits am Mailänder Hof nur ungern auf diese 'graue Eminenz' verzichtet wurde. Gesetzt also, daß Prae- oder Postscript von *CJ* 9,29,3 nicht durch die Überlieferung entstellt sind, wurde Eutropius vorübergehend als *ppo* im Illyricum eingesetzt. Daß sein großes Ansehen trotz seiner baldigen Ablösung ungeschmälert blieb, geht aus seinem Consulat a. 387 hervor.

Flavius **Eusignius** :

Procos. Afr. 383-84, *ppo Illyr. (Or.)* mindestens xii.385-mindestens xi.386, *ppo II Ital. et Illyr. (Occ.)* ca. Frühling 387 : S. Kap. IV.1.

3. *Exkurs zur Karriere des Licinius*

?Vic. Afr. 385, *?comes* 387-88 (unter Maximus).

CJ 11,60,1 (*dat.* 14.9.385 *Aquileiae*) addressiert Licinius ohne Titel und erhebt die ehemals durch einen gewissen Tiberianus festgesetzten Bestimmungen zur Versorgung eines nicht näher spezifizierten *limes* zum Gesetz ([47]). Cuiacius nennt den Empfänger *ppo* und findet damit bei einigen älteren und jüngeren Forschern Anklang. Nicht minder einflußreich wurden die Deutungen Seecks und Steins : Ersterer bezeichnet Licinius in den Regesten als Principius' Kollegen in der *ppo Ital. Illyr. et Afr.* 385, während letzterer ihn als *ppo Illyr.* 384-86 ansieht ([48]).

(47) Die Kaisernamen des Praescripts, *Valentinianus, Valens et Gratianus* (a. 367/375) sind verfehlt, könnten aber durch die Tilgung von Maximus' Namen verursacht worden sein (*Valentinianus, Theodosius, Arcadius et Maximus*) ; das Ortsdatum fügt sich in Valentinians Itinerar ein und scheint Tag und Consulat zu bestätigen.

(48) Cf. den kritischen Apparat in der Ausgabe KRÜGERS zu Cuiacius und Gothofredus (s.u.) ; SEECK 1919, SS. 268 ; 474 ; ebenso LE GALL 1953, S. 308. STEIN 1934, SS. 343-345 hält Licinius wie Neoterius für einen Gefolgsmann des Theodosius (s.o. Anm. 41) ; dennoch schließen sich ihm z.B. HIGGINS 1935, S. 640 ; ENßLIN 1954, Sp. 2438 ; MARTÍNEZ FAZIO 1972, SS. 292f. und FITZ 1994,

Hingegen hält Seeck in seiner Symmachus-Ausgabe (1883) die Liste der *ppo* mit einem weiteren *ppo* Valentinians a. 385 für unvereinbar. Mit Blick auf die verfügbaren höheren Positionen betrachtet er Licinius deswegen als *vic. Afr.* 385, zumal der im Text genannte Tiberianus *comes Africae* 325/327 gewesen sein dürfte. Letzterer ist tatsächlich der einzige bekannte Namensträger, der eine relevante Funktion in der späteren *pars imperii* Valentinians bekleidet hatte ([49]).

Mit einer Beobachtung des Gothofredus läßt sich diese zur Mehrheitsmeinung avancierte Rekonstruktion weiter untermauern : Jener Gelehrte verweist auf das am 24.9.385 an Principius *ppo* gerichtete Gesetz *CJ* 10,16,7 (= *CTh* 1,2,9 = 11,1,20, *dat. Aquileia*), das alle erschlichenen Privilegien bei der Abführung der *annona* für nichtig erklärt. Freilich handelt es sich entgegen Gothofredus nicht um Fragmente derselben Constitution, so daß auch der Name *Licinius* nicht für *Principius* verschrieben ist. Vielmehr reagierte der Hof zunächst auf eine Anfrage des Licinius und stellte fest, daß die Bestimmungen des Tiberianus entgegen individuell erlangter kaiserlicher Befreiungen weiterhin volle Gültigkeit haben solle ; nur wenige Tage später erging dann eine allgemein gehaltene Disposition an Licinius' Vorgesetzten (den *ppo* Principius), die die staatsschädigenden Einzelbegünstigungen generell verbot.

Licinius ist ferner aus fünf Briefen des Symmachus bekannt ([50]). In epist. 5,76 wird ihm dasselbe Anliegen wie dem *ppo Ital.* Eusignius in

S. 1230 (s.o. Anm. 40) an. PALANQUE 1934b, S. 712 Anm. 1 hält ebenfalls eine *ppo Illyr.* 385 für möglich ; 1951, S. 14 Anm. 2 sagt er, die *ppo* „reste douteuse".

(49) Cf. SEECK 1883, SS. CLVIIIf. (Eutropius bleibt hier unberücksichtigt) ; RAUSCHEN 1897, S. 208 ; CUQ 1897, S. 707 ; PALLU DE LESSERT 1901, 2, SS. 213f. ; PALANQUE 1933, S. 72 ; MAZZARINO 1942, S. 47 ; *PLRE* 1, SS. 508f. Licinius 1 ; S. 911 Tiberianus 2 und 4 ; VERA 1981, S. 501 ; MARCONE 1987, S. 100 ; RIVOLTA TIBERGA 1992, SS. 186f. ; vorsichtiger CALLU 1972, 1, SS. 237f. („très conjecturale") ; ähnlich VON HAEHLING 1979, der keinen *ppo* Licinius kennt. Sollte der damalige *ppo Ital.* Norditalien und Pannonien sowie der *ppo Illyr.* Dacia und Macedonia verwaltet haben (cf. KUHOFF 1983, SS. 117 und 122 ; MIGL 1994, SS. 133ff. ; 141 ; 154ff.), dann bliebe für Licinius tatsächlich nur noch Afrika übrig, da die *suburbicaria regio* Valerius Pinianus (*Coll. Av.* 4 vom 24.2.385, cf. dazu MARTÍNEZ FAZIO 1972, SS. 136-204 ; COŞKUN 2002c) a. 384-385 oder Hellenius (*CTh* 12,11,2 vom 5.8.386) unterstand.

(50) *Epist.* 5,72 ist eine *recommendatio* für Regilianus (CALLU 1982, 2, SS. 208 datiert unbestimmt auf nach a. 382 ; indes ist die Zeit zwischen Sommer 387 und Sommer 388 die wahrscheinlichste, s.u.). In *epist.* 5,73 teilt ihm SYMMACHUS

epist. 4,70 vorgetragen : Er möge den *praefectus* (sc. *praetorio*) bitten, die Untersuchung zweier Großbauprojekte in Rom entweder einem gewissen Bonosus oder aber Cyriades allein anzuvertrauen. Die allgemein übliche Datierung der Korrespondenz auf Anfang 387 findet durch die in Kapitel IV.1-2 durchgeführte Revision der Amtslisten eine weitere Stütze, da Eusignius nicht bereits im Januar, sondern frühestens ab Oktober 386 Zuständigkeit für Italien erlangt hatte. Die inhaltliche Überschneidung der zwei Schreiben erklärt man damit, daß sich Symmachus gleichzeitig an die höchste Instanz der Zivilverwaltung und einen einflußreichen Hofminister gewandt habe ; da es um Verschwendung öffentlicher Gelder gehe, hält man Licinius überwiegend für Valentinians *comes sacrarum largitionum* 387 ([51]).

Zwar ist die genaue Identifizierung der Funktion unmöglich, aber tatsächlich machen es einerseits Licinius' zurückliegendes Vicariat, andererseits die ausdrückliche Aufforderung, er möge sich an den *praefectus* wenden, erforderlich, daß er damals ein Hofministerium innehatte. Allerdings wäre es befremdlich, daß Symmachus Eusignius einmal mit großer Zuversicht adressiert, ein andermal Licinius darum bittet, jenen auf denselben Mißstand aufmerksam zu machen.

Träfe diese Rekonstruktion zu, dürfte man zumindest erwarten, daß in einem der Briefe auf den anderen Bezug genommen würde (z.B. könnte es sich um eine Erinnerung handeln). Da dies aber nicht zutrifft, ist die Annahme plausibler, daß Eusignius nicht mehr auf Symmachus' Eingabe reagieren konnte, als sich mit Maximus' Einmarsch in Italien im Frühjahr 387 die Ereignisse überstürzten. Sobald der Usurpator in Mailand

mit, daß er sich auf ein nahegelegenes Landgut begab (*ad proxima*) ; der Brief bezeugt wie auch 5,77 eine gewisse Vertrautheit der beiden Korrespondenten untereinander sowie Licinius' Aufenthalt in Rom. Zu *epist.* 2,65 und 5,76 s.u.

(51) Cf. SEECK 1883, S. CLIX ; weitere Lit. o. in Anm. 47. Anders LE GALL 1953, SS. 308f., der *epist.* 5,76 a. 385 und *epist.* 4,70 a. 387 datiert, was nicht überzeugen kann. RIVOLTA TIBERGA 1992, SS. 187f. ; S. 191 macht darauf aufmerksam, daß der Brief wenig über Licinius' genaue Position verrät und auch eine andere Funktion am Hof in Frage komme. BORGHESI 1897, 2, SS. 796f. hält ihn für einen *ppo* des Maximus, doch schreibt er ihm die *ppo Gall.* 385 zu ; dabei verweist er auf Aegidius Lacarry, der wiederum eine *ppo Gall.* 373 für Licinius ansetze.

Residenz bezogen hatte, suchte er sich Verbündete unter der heidnischen Senatsaristokratie, darunter gewiß auch in Licinius ([52]).

Der spätere Verlauf von dessen Karriere vermag diese Rekonstruktion außerdem zu stützen : Wenige Jahre später schickte Symmachus eine *recommendatio* an seinen Cousin Virius Nicomachus Flavianus ; vorsichtig umschreibt er darin die Bekleidung eines oder mehrerer früherer Ämter durch Licinius, aber verzichtet absichtlich auf die Nennung von Details (epist. 2,65). Vermutlich hatte sich letzterer durch die von Maximus verliehenen, mittlerweile annullierten Würdenstellungen kompromittiert, so daß er einflußreicher Unterstützung für die Wiederaufnahme seiner Karriere unter Theodosius bedurfte. Ob er indes weitere *dignitates* erwarb, lassen die Quellen offen ([53]).

(52) *Epist.* 4,70 an Eusignius eröffnet mit den Worten *discedenti mihi* und spielt auf Symmachus' Rückkehr von Mailand vielleicht im Jan. oder Feb. 387 an ; der Brief dürfte also im Frühjahr 387 und somit tatsächlich unmittelbar vor der Invasion geschrieben worden sein. Zu Maximus' Feindschaft zu Ambrosius cf. Stein-Palanque 1959, S. 208 ; McLynn 1994, SS. 160-63. Probus floh gemeinsam mit Valentinian, s. dazu o. Kap. IV.1. Zu Symmachus' Panegyricus auf Maximus cf. *PLRE* 1,868 ; zu Licinius s.o. Anm. 50.

(53) Oft wird der Brief entsprechend der Fehldatierung von Flavianus' *ppo* a. 382/383 datiert, so daß der Nebensatz *cum dominum et fratrem meum Licinium celebrem fecit ad normam veteris disciplinae gubernata res publica* die vorherige Bekleidung einer Provinzstatthalterschaft vorauszusetzen scheint, cf. z.B. Seeck 1883, SS. CXXIV ; CLVIII ; neben der o. in Anm. 49 genannten Lit. auch Delmaire 1989, S. 112 Anm. 125 (a. 382 während der *qsp* des Flavianus). Doch muß im Brief vielmehr auf die a. 385 und 387 bekleideten Ämter des Licinius angespielt sein, da von Flavianus erst während seiner *qsp* 388-390 oder *ppo* 390-394 tatkräftige Unterstützung erwartet werden konnte, cf. Matthews 1997 ; Honoré 1998, SS. 59-70 und Coşkun, *Flavianus*. Nicht haltbar ist die Ansicht Rivolta Tibergas 1992, S. 187 : Zunächst erwägt sie, daß *epist.* 2,65 auf eine vorangehende (!) Statthalterschaft a. 393 (!) oder 383 anspiele ; dann aber verwirft sie das allgemein anerkannte Datierungskriterium : Symmachus richte sich nicht an einen amtierenden *ppo*, sondern wolle vielmehr Flavianus a. 385 selbst zur Übernahme weiterer Ämter ermutigen ; dies ist nicht mit dem Text zu vereinbaren.

4. *Tabellarischer Überblick über die praefecti praetorio Valentinians II. a. 383-387*

F = Frühling, S = Sommer, H = Herbst, W = Winter

ppo Italiae et Illyrici (Occidentalis.)		*ppo Illyrici (Orientalis)*	
vi.383-H383/F384	Petronius Probus		
F384-ix./x.384	Praetextatus	H383/F384-ca. viii.384	Nonius Atticus
ix./x.384-ca.xi.386	Principius	ca. viii.384-ca. vii.(/xii.)385	Neoterius
		?S/H385?	?Eutropius?
		ca.xii.385-xi.386/F387	Eusignius
ca. W386/F387	Eusignius	387/388	N.N.

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PHILOPONUS' LETTER TO JUSTINIAN (*CPG* 7264)

Throughout his reign the emperor Justinian tried to find an accommodation with his Christian subjects who adhered, not to the imperial Chalcedonian Dyophysite confession of Constantinople, but rather to the non-Chalcedonian "Monophysite" (Miaphysite) confession followed by most of the inhabitants of the important provinces of Egypt and Syria. For the entire duration of his reign, a leading thinker of the Miaphysite movement was the Alexandrian polymath John Philoponus, commentator alike on Aristotle and on Genesis (1). Philoponus' major theological work *Diaitêtês* [*Arbiter*] (*CPG* 7260) (preserved in Syriac) (2) was composed probably in about A.D. 552 as a lead-in to Justinian's Constantinopolitan ecumenical council of 553 (3). At some point before his death in 565 (probably before the Council, see below) the emperor invited this famous Miaphysite intellectual to come to Constantinople and join in person-to-

(1) Scholarship on Philoponus has happily burgeoned in the fifteen years since the publication of R. SORABJI, ed., *Philoponus and the Rejection of Aristotelian Science*, London-Ithaca 1987. See L. S. B. MACCOULL, *A new look at the career of John Philoponus, Journal of Early Christian Studies* 3 (1995) 47-60 ; EADEM, *The historical context of John Philoponus' De Opificio Mundi in the culture of Byzantine-Coptic Egypt, Zeitschrift für Antikes Christentum*, forthcoming ; C. SCHOLTEN, *Antike Naturphilosophie und christliche Kosmologie in der Schrift "De Opificio Mundi" des Johannes Philoponos*, Berlin-New York, 1996 ; IDEM, *Johannes Philoponos De Opificio Mundi, Über die Erschaffung der Welt*, 3 vols., *Fontes Christianae* 23/1-3, Freiburg, 1997 ; and U. M. LANG, *John Philoponus and the Controversies Over Chalcedon in the Sixth Century : A Study and Translation of the* Arbiter, Leuven, 2001.

(2) Ed. A. ŠANDA, *Ioannis Philoponi Opuscula Monophysitica*, Beirut, 1930, p. 1-48 (Syr. text), p. 35-88 (Lat. trans.). See now LANG, *John Philoponus*, passim (trans. p. 173-217) ; and p. 20, 22 for astute remarks on the nature of the Syriac version.

(3) So too was his additional work *Epitome of the Diaitêtês* (*CPG* 7261) also preserved in Syriac : ed. ŠANDA, *Opuscula Monophysitica*, p. 49-62/89-103 ; LANG, *John Philoponus*, p. 28-31.

person debate, in the fashion of the day (4). Philoponus' reply, declining to make the journey but setting out his theological position, is preserved in a Syriac version (5). This document, comparatively little studied before 2001 (6), is well worth a detailed examination, building on its recent treatment in Lang's monograph (7).

Contrary to earlier datings of this letter to the quinquennium just before Justinian's death in 565 (8), Lang has convincingly redated it as part of the run-up to the 553 Council, specifically to just after Justinian's Edict *De Recta Fide* in July 551 (9), hence just before Philoponus' fuller Christological exposition in the *Diaitêtês* (10). It seems to be precisely the emperor's own formulations in that Edict to which our Alexandrian is

(4) See R. LIM, *Public Disputation, Power, and Social Order in Late Antiquity*, Berkeley, 1995, p. 105, 232-233.

(5) The two main MSS are *Vatican syr.* 144 (probably 8th c.) and *British Library Add.* 12171 (A.D. 815) : see G. FURLANI, *Una lettera di Giovanni Filopono all'imperatore Giustiniano, Atti del Reale Istituto Veneto di scienze, lettere ed arti*, 79.2 (1919-1920), p. 1247-1265, here p. 1247-1248 ; and LANG, *John Philoponus*, p. 16-18. MS *Harvard Syr.* 22 (no date given) also contains the beginning of the *Letter* : LANG, *John Philoponus*, p. 19.

(6) There is commentary in FURLANI, *Una lettera*, p. 1258-1265.

(7) See LANG, *John Philoponus*, p. 23-28, whose convincing dating and conclusions I accept. Previous to his work the only recent brief study had been T. HAINTHALER's in A. GRILLMEIER and EADEM, *Jesus der Christus im Glauben der Kirche*, 2.4, Freiburg, 1990, p. 133-134 (in the chapter "Johannes Philoponos, Philosoph und Theologe in Alexandria") : updated in the English version, *Christ in Christian Tradition*, 2.4 : *The Church of Alexandria with Nubia and Ethiopia After 451*, trans. O. C. DEAN Jr., London, 1996, p. 130-131. The letter receives only a brief mention in H. CHADWICK, *Philoponus the Christian theologian*, in SORABJI, ed., *Philoponus*, p. 50. It is n° 31 in SCHOLTEN's list of Philoponus' works : *Über die Erschaffung der Welt*, 1 : 42 ; *Antike Naturphilosophie*, p. 434.

(8) E.g. CHADWICK, *Philoponus the Christian theologian*, p. 40, 55 ; but cf. SCHOLTEN, *Antike Naturphilosophie*, p. 58 n. 212.

(9) This is just the time at which the Egyptian lawyer and poet Dioscorus of Aphrodito was in Constantinople : see J.-L. FOURNET, *Hellénisme dans l'Egypte du VIe siècle : la bibliothèque et l'œuvre de Dioscore d'Aphrodité*, Cairo, 1999, I, p. 318-321. From this journey we have at least five copies of imperial rescripts, a contract, a letter (in which Dioscorus expresses his hopes of obtaining justice from God), and eight poetic petitions addressed to imperial officials (FOURNET, *Hellénisme* I, p. 373-375, 378-390 for the poems). For a picture of Egyptian society in 551 one may search for dated papyrus documents in the Heidelberg Gesamtverzeichnis. Ties between province and capital were close.

(10) LANG, *John Philoponus*, p. 28, 89.

replying ([11]). Philoponus also praises Justinian's military victories in terms that clearly recall the successful campaigns in the Iberian Peninsula and North Africa ([12]). Lang is clearly correct in seeing in this *Letter* an early formulation of Philoponus' Christology, formulated indeed to reach an imperial audience, and building on Philoponus' philosophical commentaries, composed as they were to strengthen and equip Miaphysite thought for the task of bringing opponents round, even at the highest level ([13]).

Philoponus opens by saying that it was the imperial official or "servant" (*'abda*) ([14]) named Stephanos who conveyed the emperor's invitation to him (§ 1) : presumably an imperial household official resident in Constantinople, who sent a letter by sea. Could this perhaps be the Stephanus 18 the Constantinopolitan jurist of *PLRE* 3B : p. 1187, possibly of Egyptian origin ? Such a man would have been well aware of Philoponus' reputation at Alexandria and have been anxious to promote the emperor's intentions of peace and unity between Dyophysites and Miaphysites.

To the invitation, Philoponus replies ([15]) that a combination of his advanced age (he would have been in his sixties in 551-552) and the winter season oblige him to decline the opportunity of appearing in the capital in person ; but since the same Stephanos has further invited him to put his position down on paper, he will follow the analogy that obtains between praying to God and petitioning the emperor, and write out his position of faith for the imperial eyes. Since (following one plausible dating of the work) Philoponus had only recently finished (or perhaps

(11) LANG, *John Philoponus*, p. 24-27 shows this in careful detail. It also cannot have escaped anyone's notice, the emperor's or Philoponus' and his countrymen's, that 551 was the centenary year of the Council of Chalcedon.

(12) Another motivation for both this capital-Alexandrian interchange and for the calling of the Council itself was of course the aftermath of the great plague of the 540s. Philoponus' concern for the emperor's soul has this as a clear subtext.

(13) Cf. LANG, *John Philoponus*, p. 70.

(14) In the margin of MS *Vat. syr.* 144, fol. 75v, the scribe has added "*mhaymma*", "faithful servant" (or "household servant" ?) : FURLANI, *Una lettera,* p. 1249 n. 2 ; LANG, *John Philoponus*, p. 17.

(15) Addressing the emperor in terms that echo the phraseology of contemporary papyrus petitions such as *P. Cair. Masp.* I, n° 67002 : "you who are, after God, our lord".

was still working on) his treatise on Genesis, the *De Opificio Mundi* ([16]) dedicated to Sergius of Tella the Miaphysite patriarch of Antioch, in which he tried to show that only the Miaphysite understanding of the person of Christ can be the key to understanding the created universe ([17]), he makes a point of politely saying to the emperor that it is that very Christ himself who has entrusted to Justinian the reins (*'arqe*) ([18]) of the whole world (§ 1) – a phrase that deliberately echoes Justinian's own preambles to the *Codex* and *Novellae* ([19]).

In addressing the emperor, Philoponus takes the tack he will use throughout : praising Justinian for his orthodoxy. The reverse subtext of this procedure is, of course, a subtle way of pointing out where the emperor is in error ([20]). Since it would never do to say that in so many words, Philoponus repeatedly uses formulations along the lines of "Your Majesty has always held/taught that (X)" in fact to demonstrate the contrast between the less coherent, less well thought out Dyophysite position and the more accurate Miaphysite one. In just this way he begins with a long credal formula about God the Son (§ 2), "Who in these last days was made man, incarnate of the Holy Ghost and from the Mother of God, Mary ever-virgin, in flesh that is consubstantial with us, who has a rational and intellectual soul that too is consubstantial with our soul, though neither was his divinity changed into flesh, nor yet was his holy flesh changed into divinity ; ... [who] is one of the worshipped and consubstantial Trinity" ([21]). That last phrase, the famous "One of the Trinity", is indeed one of Justinian's, a focal point of the famous troparion *Ὁ μονογενὴς Υἱός* that the emperor caused to be sung in the churches of Constantinople in the 550s ([22]). Philoponus styles Justinian "Christ-loving" (*rhmt*

(16) Ed./trans. SCHOLTEN, *Über die Erschaffung der Welt* ; and see IDEM, *Antike Naturphilosophie.* (The present writer prepared a [still unpublished] English translation in 1995). A plausible dating for this Greek treatise is between the late 540s and about 560.

(17) Cf. LANG, *John Philoponus*, p. 48 ; only this makes sense.

(18) Mistranslated by FURLANI (*Una lettera*, p. 1249) as "fundamentum" ; ŠANDA (p. 172) has "freta."

(19) Const. *Deo auctore* ad *Dig.*, 1 : *CJC* 1, 8 ; and see below on "One of the Trinity".

(20) Cf. HAINTHALER in *Christ in Christian Tradition* 2.4, p. 130, n. 131.

(21) Ed. ŠANDA p. 124 ; lat. trans., p. 173.

(22) See C. NEWMAN, *The poetry of theology : An analysis of Justinian's Hymn 'O Μονογενὴς Υἱός, Greek Orthodox Theological Review*, 43 (1998), p. 85-91 esp. p. 86, 89. For the whole "One of the Trinity" debate see also

le-Meshiha, φιλόχριστος) ([23]), and says that he has always taught this ([24]).

Praise of the emperor continues in § 2 with mention of his having ridiculed and given a knockout blow to Nestorius' "humanolatry" (*segduth-barnasha*) : a reference to his Edict *De Recta Fide*, which will also help bring about the condemnation of the Three Chapters at the Council of Constantinople in 553. For this pious action, i.e. coming out against Nestorius, God has rewarded the emperor with victories over all the barbarians (as noted above). Philoponus ends this section with what appears to be a double allusion to Scripture, though it is difficult to pinpoint exactly : possibly it combines an echo of John 8:54 with one of Matthew 22:2 ff., the parable of the king and the wedding feast (an appropriate royal allusion).

Now we come to the real matter of the discourse. Philoponus speaks of Justinian's efforts to bring about unity, saying that what is needed is to smoothe out the words that entail difficulty (recalling the often-repeated point that the Miaphysite-Dyophysite opposition could be thought of as "purely verbal" ; cf. below on the *in* two/*out of* two problem ([25]), the difference between Greek ἐν and ἐκ being, famously, a single letter). The church, he says, would never have been so disunited if the formulation "two natures of Christ" had never been perpetrated – a formulation that conflicts with "the correct opinions and doctrines of Your Majesty" ([26]).

GRILLMEIER and HAINTHALER, *Christ in Christian Tradition* 2.2 : *The Church of Constantinople in the Sixth Century*, trans. J. CAWTE and P. ALLEN, London, 1995, p. 317-343 with extensive literature ; and L. S. B. MACCOULL, *Uniformis Trinitas* : *Once more the Theopaschite Trinitarianism of Dioscorus of Aphrodito*, *GRBS*, 42 (2002), p. 83-96.

(23) For this title as applied to Justinian see L.S.B. MACCOULL, *The panegyric on Justin II by Dioscorus of Aphrodito*, *Byz.*, 54 (1984), p. 580-581 with notes 12-13 and the literature cited therein (repr. in EADEM, *Coptic Perspectives on Late Antiquity*, London, 1993, no. VI) ; and FOURNET, *Hellénisme*, I, p. 409-411 ; II, p. 567-578, here p. 570. Dioscorus applied the epithet to both emperors, Justinian (in prose petitions such as *P. Cair. Masp.*, I, n° 67002 cited above) and Justin II (cf. PREISIGKE, *WB*, III, p. 202).

(24) FURLANI (*Una lettera*, p. 1261) contrasts the formulation quoted by Philoponus with Justinian's own *De Recta Fide* as in *PG* 86.1, col. 997A ff. But the emperor used this very phrase in *CJ* 1.1.5.2, inserting it into the very text of imperial Roman law.

(25) LANG, *John Philoponus*, p. 25, 27.

(26) Ed. ŠANDA, p. 124, lat. trans., p. 174.

Philoponus is about to show that only a one-nature formulation makes sense, logically and soteriologically.

In the credal formulation he attributes to the emperor (above) Philoponus has stated that the divinity and the humanity do not become one by means of a process of change, by one being changed into the other ; he reiterates and develops that point here, even giving the two Chalcedonian adverbs *ἀτρέπτως*, without change, and *ἀσυγχύτως*, without confusion (§ 3), and juxtaposing them with the tried-and-true Cyrillian analogy of the unity of the human body and soul ([27]). As Justinian himself teaches the hypostatic union (that tactic again), this has to mean that Christ is one composite (*marqba*) nature ([28]). He uses the Platonic notion of participation to argue that the unity has to be real, not notional, abstract, doxological, or just from propinquity. Anything else is just "vain legalese", against which he paraphrases Psalm 43:22b (LXX ; 44:22b Peshitta, 43:22b SyroHexaplar) : a verse in an interesting context, referring to turning astray from the true God. Clearly the import here is Christological, letting the emperor know that a wrong view of Christ is tantamount to apostasy.

Next Philoponus introduces (without giving explicit credit save to "Doctors [of the Church]") Severus of Antioch's identity between "nature" (*qyana*) and "hypostasis" (*qenoma*) ([29]) to perpetrate what amounts

(27) See B. MEUNIER, *Le Christ de Cyrille d'Alexandrie : l'humanité, le salut et la question monophysite,* Paris, 1997, p. 235-254 : "Modèle anthropologique et christologie" ; LANG, *John Philoponus*, p. 101-157.

(28) This is the notion that Philoponus was to devote the *Diaitêtês* to demonstrating : again see LANG, *John Philoponus*, p. 101-157. The Syriac root *rqb* is the verb for "to compound" in the sense of "compound drugs" : we are very near to a concept of what much later would come to be the concept of a chemical compound (see L. S. B. MACCOULL, *John Philoponus and the composite nature of Christ, Ostkirchliche Studien*, 44 [1995], p. 197-204). Philoponus, who lived in the society of Byzantine Egypt that was more than familiar with alchemical practices, had been thinking about the meaning of "composite" for some forty years, since his early commentaries on Aristotle's *De anima* and *De gen. et corr.* See Frans A. J. DE HAAS, *Mixture in Philoponus : an encounter with a third kind of potentiality,* in *The Commentary Tradition on Aristotle's De generatione et corruptione : Ancient, Medieval, and Early Modern*, ed. J. M. M. H. THIJSSEN and H. A. G. BRAKHUIS, Turnhout, 1999, p. 21-46 (I am grateful to Dr de Haas for interesting e-mail discussions on Philoponus as a theologian).

(29) See R. CHESNUT, *Three Monophysite Christologies*, Oxford, 1976, p. 12-15 for the earlier acute and subtle analysis of this notion, so often repeated without much comprehension by secondary sources ; and now LANG, *John*

to a clever syllogism : if Christ's nature is composite, and nature and hypostasis are interchangeable, then Christ's hypostasis is composite. In fact he gives it in reverse order : first the composite hypostasis, than the identity of terms, then the composite nature, QED ; and this too "is what Your pious Majesty wisely thinks and teaches" ([30]) ! This from a logic scholar who had spent the better part of a decade commenting on the Aristotelian Organon in order to provide the nascent Miaphysite church of Egypt with the best possible kit of logical tools for argument ([31]).

Philoponus next returns to the concept of the "double consubstantiality" ([32]) mentioned in his credal formulation : Christ being consubstantial both with us humans and with the other persons of the Trinity (§ 4). Again we find ourselves proceeding along a syllogistic arrow that goes in the direction "one hypostasis of the consubstantial Trinity became incarnate" → interchangeability of "hypostasis" and "[particular] nature" → "one nature [viz. the Word] became incarnate". Then, maintaining that Justinian himself has held "One Nature Incarnate of God the Word" (Cyril's formula), Philoponus by a clever substitution slips this second notion of "nature" into the "nature" slot of the previous chain of reasoning, to arrive at a combination with the previous conclusion, to the effect that one must confess One Nature of the Composite One ([33]). If Justinian ever actually received and read this letter (in Greek ? in a Latin version from Greek ?), by this time he would have agreed that he himself thought what Philoponus said he thought ([34]).

The next two long sections (§ 5 and 6) of the letter are devoted to a demolition of the "*in* two" formula and a vindication of the "*out of* two" formula ([35]). Philoponus reiterates both the hypostasis-nature identity and the One Composite Nature conclusion worked out in the preceding passages. Then he raises two possible objections the more Antiochene-inclined might come up with. The first is the notion of whether or not

Philoponus, esp. p. 57-88. What we see Philoponus doing is working out his special contribution, an identification between "particular nature" and hypostasis (p. 60, 63).

(30) Ed. Šanda, p. 125, lat. trans., p. 175.

(31) See MacCoull, *A new look at the career of John Philoponus*.

(32) Cf. Lang, *John Philoponus*, p. 75-77.

(33) Ed. Šanda, p. 126, lat. trans., p. 176.

(34) Cf. *PG* 86, col. 1009CD.

(35) Cf. Hainthaler in *Christ in Christian Tradition* 2.4, p. 130-131 (disregarding the now-untenable late dating).

Christ's flesh existed before it was united with the Word. Philoponus says rather that the creative Word created the flesh (as happens in every human engendering) at the selfsame moment as it was united with it (the unexpressed difference being, of course, that this was parthenogenetic flesh, so to speak). The result is that an entirely new, unique being, Christ, came into being at that very moment. The second objection is the problem of universals ([36]) : were the two terms of the union really Universal Divinity and Universal Humanity ? Clearly not the latter, for the human Jesus who really lived in history was a specific, recognizable individual, and on top of that a universal (which Justinian holds is not a hypostasis ([37])) cannot be compounded with anything : so the whole thing collapses ([38]). Dyophysite terminology is so inexact that it leads its users to speak of "two natures after the union" when in fact what they are groping toward expressing is the truth of the composite nature (/hypostasis).

Bringing up this Dyophysite terminology ("two natures") leads to the "*in* two/*out of* two" conflict and effort at compromise. Philoponus, logician that he is, anticipates material that he will later (557/58-560/61) use in his treatise *To Sergius on the Whole and Its Parts* (*CPG* 7263) ([39]) to rehearse how entities can be spoken of as existing in their parts and/or out of their parts. The logical fallacy in the "*in* two" formula lies in the fact that such a formula is applicable only in cases where the things in question are logically discrete from one another (such as human organs), which of course is not the case in the Christological question. Philoponus brings up his favorite arguments from the natural world, the four elements

(36) See LANG, *John Philoponus*, p. 56-57, 64, 69-70.

(37) Ed. ŠANDA, p. 127, lat. trans., p. 177.

(38) *Ibid.* Philoponus here also quotes Proverbs 9 :1, a text he uses in a Christological context in *De Opificio Mundi* 3.11 (ed./tr. SCHOLTEN, II, p. 340-341) : Wisdom's house is Christ's body ; and this in addressing the emperor who built the Church of the Holy Wisdom.

(39) Preserved also in Syriac : ed. ŠANDA, *Opuscula Monophysitica*, Syr. text, p. 81-94, lat. trans., p. 126-139 : see LANG, *John Philoponus*, p. 9, 32-33. The "Sergius" dedicatee has been identified with the same Sergius of Tella, Monophysite patriarch of Antioch A.D. 557-560, to whom Philoponus dedicated the *De Opificio Mundi*, this time while he was still just a priest (*qeshisha*) ; I had once thought rather of Philoponus' pupil of the 520s, Sergius of Reš'ayna, thus dating the *Whole/Parts* considerably earlier ; but am now convinced by Lang's dating and identification.

and the three-dimensionality of space ([40]), as well as the usual classical-philosophy examples like houses and statues, to show that "*out of* two" is the only formulation that makes any sense ([41]).

Finally, Philoponus adduces an illustration that must have hit Justinian very close to home. Before the eyes of an emperor very concerned with the visibility of his rule, an emperor whose images made him present everywhere in the empire, he brings the figure of the *persona* (Syriac *parsopa*, πρόσωπον) of the ruler – an *image* of supreme importance in the growing contemporary debate on images ([42]). To divide Christ by using the "*in* two natures" formula would be the same as dividing the emperor by saying that his *persona* was in all his magistrates (*ryshane*, "headmen" ([43]) – a term from Syrian village administration equivalent to Philoponus' own Egyptian πρωτοκωμήτης). Up to a point, yes, but not to the detriment of the sole sovereign. The only possible way is, one emperor, one Christ. Philoponus will develop this image-based thought further in the *Diaitêtês* in a way that reflects his Egyptian milieu. In § 25, he analyses the uses of phrases with πρόσωπον meaning "to represent", as in "the governor represents the king" ([44]). This reflects the usage in contemporary Coptic documentary papyri of the idiomatic phrase ϵιρϵ ⲛ̄ⲡⲣⲟⲥⲱⲡⲟⲛ to mean "legally represent" ([45]). Our Egyptian Miaphysite thinker was not going to let "those who are attentive to the doctrines of Nestorius" get away with sloppy analysis or incorrect deployment of technical terms.

(40) See D. SEDLEY, *Philoponus' conception of space*, in SORABJI, ed., *Philoponus*, p. 140-153.

(41) FURLANI (*Una lettera*, p. 1265) asserts that this is a direct contradiction of Justinian, despite all Philoponus' efforts to soothe with repeated formulations to the effect that "Your Majesty has always taught the right thing". See Lang's careful analysis of Justinian's critique of the anthropological paradigm, so Cyrillian and so foundational for Philoponus : *John Philoponus*, p. 157, 167-168.

(42) See L. S. B. MACCOULL, *Notes on Philoponus' theory of vision*, *Byz.*, 67 (1997), p. 558-562.

(43) Ed. ŠANDA, p. 129, lat. trans., p. 179.

(44) LANG, *John Philoponus*, p. 193.

(45) See MACCOULL, *The historical context of John Philoponus'* De Opificio Mundi, forthcoming.

Philoponus' exordium prays that the emperor, again styled "Christ-loving" ([46]), by whom God has seen fit to restore ([47]) the whole supreme realm of the Romans, may find salvation with Christ in heaven at the end of his pilgrimage. Justinian's most noble work of statecraft has been the quest for church unity. Philoponus' final wish is that divisive ([48]) expressions may be, by Justinian, definitively put out of the church of Christ, to the vindication of both faith and exactness of terminology ([49]). And he warns the emperor to seize the moment for doing this, lest the glory for doing so accrue to his successor on the throne. This is probably a reference to the emperor's nephew, the future Justin II, who, unfortunately for Philoponus' purposes, initially was pro-Miaphysite but later (after succeeding) changed to the Chalcedonian confession ([50]). Philoponus hoped that what he had worked for would not unravel ; but such was not to be the case.

This text is a document of great intellectual and moral courage on the part of its writer. The more usual Miaphysite way of bearing witness to the truth of one's convictions was through strengthening the monastic and parish life on the local level, consecrating one's own clergy, creating one's own sacramental liturgies and the built spaces in which to enact them, interpreting the Bible in one's own way : not by directly confronting the Chalcedonian emperor even through the medium of the written word. The solution proposed by Philoponus was in a way an anticipation

(46) As opposed to the "Christ-hating" Nestorians : ŠANDA, p. 130, lat. trans., p. 180.

(47) From *pny* : referring (in part) to Justinian's reconquests of formerly Byzantine territory (ŠANDA's "restituit" is preferable to Furlani's "attribuit" [*Una lettera*, p. 1257]). Cf. also M. MAAS, *Roman history and Christian ideology in Justinianic reform legislation*, *DOP*, 40 (1986), p. 17-31.

(48) "Separative", from *plq*, always a negative term in Monophysite discourse : see CHESNUT, *Three Monophysite Christologies*, p. 15. I now, thanks to Lang's convincing arguments, accept that the treatise (preserved in Syriac) once attributed to Philoponus, *On Difference [suhlapha], Number and Separation [*or *"Division"] [pulagha] (CPG* 7277) (ed. ŠANDA, *Opuscula Monophysitica*, p. 95-122, lat. trans. p. 140-171) is not by Philoponus but rather comes out of a later controversy involving the sophist Stephen Niobes : LANG, *John Philoponus*, p. 33-41. Note though that while *pulagha* is negative, *suhlapha* is positive (CHESNUT, *Christologies*, p. 15).

(49) Ed. ŠANDA, p. 129-130, lat. trans., p. 179-180.

(50) See I. SHAHÎD, *Byzantium and the Arabs in the Sixth Century* 1.2, *Ecclesiastical History*, Washington, D.C., 1995, p. 796-805.

of a tactic like that of Heraclius' *Ekthesis* of 638 ([51]). Even backed by Philoponus' philosophical skill ([52]), though, it could not be put into practice (aside from our ignorance of whether the emperor ever actually received and read or listened to it). Whatever its fate in lived history, the *Letter to Justinian*, written around the centennial of the controversial council of Chalcedon, remains a well-made anticipatory summary of the highlights of Philoponus' theological learning that were to span over more than forty years in his career as a leading light of his Egyptian church ([53]).

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(51) For an anti-Miaphysite literary response to the *Ekthesis* by Heraclius' court poet see L. S. B. MacCoull, *George of Pisidia*, Against Severus : *in praise of Heraclius*, in *The Future of the Middle Ages and the Renaissance*, ed. R. Dahood, Turnhout, 1998, p. 69-79.

(52) Furlani (*Una lettera*, p. 1265) oversimplifies, in the fashion of earlier scholarship, saying that Philoponus was a "Monophysite" and a tritheist because he was an Aristotelian. Obviously this cannot be taken seriously today. See Lang, *John Philoponus*, p. 48, 69-70.

(53) In loving memory, as always, of Mirrit Boutros Ghali ("Nimm hin das opfer meiner toten tage" [Stefan George]).

PRICE FORMATION IN THE BYZANTINE ECONOMY TENTH TO FIFTEENTH CENTURIES

I. Introduction

The purpose of this study is to ascertain the economic factors and institutional parameters that determined the price of commodities in the tenth and post-tenth-century Byzantium. While creditable efforts have been made to chronicle actual prices of commodities, price differentials, and price movements over time (1), no attempt has been made to lay out the conceptual basis, institutional framework, economic considerations, and market dynamics reflecting the dominant market structures and the attendant conduct of the agents which influenced the *process* of price formation in the Byzantine economy. Yet, there have been recurring assertions about the invasive character of state interventions, pervasive regulation of the economy, extensive price controls, and the import and sales monopoly of the guilds and the attendant unrestrained pricing power they wielded. At the same time, the implications of policy directives and array of

(1) For tabulations of commodity prices from the tenth to the fifteenth centuries, see G. Ostrogorsky, *Loehne und Preise in Byzanz*, in *BZ*, 32 (1932), pp. 320-323, 326-333 ; H. Antoniadis-Bibicou, *Démographie, salaires et prix à Byzance au xiᵉ siècle*, in *Annales : Économies, Sociétés, Civilisations*, 27 (1972), pp. 227-233 ; J.-C. Cheynet, E. Malamut, C. Morrisson, *Prix et salaires* à *Byzance (xᵉ-xvᵉ siècle)*, in V. Kravari, J. Lefort, C. Morrisson, *Hommes et richesses dans l'Empire byzantin*, Paris, 1991, II, pp. 349-66 ; A. Andréadès, *De la monnaie et de la puissance d'achat des métaux précieux dans l'empire byzantin*, in *Byz.*, 1 (1924), pp. 89-100 ; D. Zakythinos, *Περὶ τῆς τιμῆς τοῦ σίτου ἐν Βυζαντίῳ*, in *EEBΣ*, 12 (1936), pp. 389-400 ; H. Hunger and K. Vogel, *Ein byzantinisches Rechenbuch des 15. Jahrhunderts*, Vienna, 1963, pp. 113-14 ; C. Morrisson and J.-C. Cheynet, *Prices and Wages in the Byzantine World*, in *The Economic History of Byzantium*, ed. A. E. Laïou, Washington, D.C., 2002, II, pp. 815-858.

measures taken by the state to buttress the competitive process and prop up the market system have never been explored. It would therefore be instructive to elucidate the ground rules on the basis of which prices were formed ; the organization of the marketplace ; the modalities and extent of state intervention and their impact on price formation ; the actual pricing power of the guilds ; and the workability of market forces, in light of the economic, social and political realities of the time.

II. Price Formation — The General Rule

As a rule, commodity prices in Byzantium were established by market forces under conditions of free and fair competition within a framework of private enterprise system. The contracting parties were allowed to take advantage of the prevailing market conditions and their bargaining skills to arrive at a price consistent with their personal circumstances. The mere disparity of values in an exchange did not void sales contracts : Ἐπί τῆς πράσεως καὶ τῆς ἀγορασίας φυσικῶς συγκεχώρηται τὸ πλείονος ἄξιον ἥττονος ἀγοράζειν, καὶ τὸ ἥττονος πλείονος πιπράσκειν (it is only natural that goods of higher market value be purchased at a lower price, and goods of lower market value be sold at a higher price) ; further, agreements reached in any manner by those engaging in lawful transactions are enforceable (αἱ γὰρ βουλήσεις τῶν νομίμως συναλλασσόντων παντὶ τρόπῳ δεκταί εἰσι) (2). In fact, in buying and selling, the contracting parties were allowed to outmaneuver one another on the price, as long as the resulting loss did not exceed half the price : Οἱ συναλλάττοντες ἔχουσιν ἄδειαν περιγράφειν ἀλλήλους, ἤγουν εἰς τὸν ἄλλον βλάπτειν καὶ ζημιοῦν, ἕως καὶ ἡμίσεως τοῦ τιμήματος, οὗπερ ἐστὶ τὸ πρᾶγμα ὃ συναλλάσουσι (3) ; Περιγραφὴ δὲ καὶ περιγράφειν καὶ

(2) *Basilics* (hereafter *B*), ed. I. D. Zepos, *Βασιλικά*, I-V, Athens, 1896-1900, *B.* 20.1.22,3 scholium ; *B.* 12.1. 88 ; *B.* 19.1. 36 ; *Ecloga*, 1. 12 ; 16. 30. See also *B.* 53.7.1 ; *Synopsis Basilicorum*, A. 3. 9 ; 18. 1 ; *Synopsis Minor*, A. 90 ; *Hexabiblos*, 3. 3. 28, 101. Exceptionally, the state set prices for slaves, a *sui generis* good, which depended on their age and skills, with special rates for notaries, physicians, and eunuchs. *B.* 48. 14. 4 ; *Peira*, 28. 21 ; *Hexabiblos*, 1.18.17.

(3) *B.* 10.4.16,4 ; *B.* 19. 10. 64 scholium, 70 ; *Synopsis Basilicorum*, A. 3. 21; Y. 7. 5 ; *Ecloga*, 16. 32 ; Attaleiates, *Ponema*, 11. 2 ; *Peira*, 38. 5, 12 ; *Prochiron Auctum*, 15. 34 ; *Synopsis Minor*, Π. 18 ; *Hexabiblos*, 3. 3. 70 and scholium, 72, 73 and scholium.

περιγράφεσθαι λέγεται μὲν τότε, ὅταν δύο προσώπων ποιούντων πρὸς ἀλλήλους συνάλλαγμα, εἷς τὸν ἕτερον ἀπατήσῃ καὶ ζημιώσῃ ἐπιτηδείως μετά τινος δολιότητος (4). However, the rule applied largely to immovables, and did not extend to commodities which were the object of ordinary transactions (5). Similarly, exaggerated praise and affirmations without commitment did not generate obligation ; but if the vendor categorically pledged non-existing attributes, he was liable for deception : 'Ο πράτης ἐφ' οἷς λέγει πρὸς ἔπαινον τοῦ πιπρασκομένου οὐκ ἐνέχεται, εἰ μὴ ἐπὶ ἀπάτῃ τοῦ ἀγοραστοῦ εἶπε. Τότε γὰρ ἡ περὶ δόλου ἀγωγὴ ἁρμόζει (6). The permissible latitude in business conduct and aggressive bargaining clearly indicates that one buys at his own risk (*caveat emptor*). Clever exploitation of an advantageous situation or outwitting the other party did not run counter to the *bona fide* requirement in sales contracts. To be astute and shrewd was viewed as being in the nature of business life, and indeed an everyday occurrence in private exchanges. Haggling and puffing were seen as taking place as a matter of course before a sales contract was consummated. Aggressive bargaining was an inseparable and essential part of trade negotiations as it fostered price competition.

The law proceeded from the presumption that, as long as the parties were in a position to evaluate their own circumstances and make decisions based on realistic assessments, their contractual arrangements had to be given effect. Each party agrees to the exchange because he believes that he will receive something of greater value to *him* than he is to give in return. Besides, in a workably competitive market, the parties have the choice to shop around, bargain, or wait, so that they can make an informed decision and strike the best deal. The exchange therefore will benefit both parties, at least in their own judgment, which explains their engagement as opposed to no exchange at all. To their credit, the Byzantines fully appreciated the enormity of the task of having state officials set *the* price *they* deemed "right" for a wide range of products, substituting their own judgment for the impersonal market forces. Showing good judgment, they discounted the notion that central authorities could outperform the market, and correctly sensed the impracticality and

(4) *Synopsis Minor*, Π. 42.

(5) See pp. 441-443 below.

(6) *B.*19.10.17 ; *Peira*, 38. 30 ; *Synopsis Minor*, A. 92 ; *Hexabiblos*, 3. 3.19 and scholium ; 3. 3. 66.

unworkability of such a major undertaking in a complex business environment. They appreciated that price fixing would have been counterproductive as it would have led to shortages and black markets.

Leases were subject to the same rules as sales (7). The law imposed no ceilings on rentals : Φυσικῶς καὶ ἐν τῇ πράσει καὶ ἀγορασίᾳ καὶ τῇ μισθώσει περιγράφομεν ἀλλήλους ἐν τῷ ποσῷ. Καὶ οὐκ ἐκ τούτου ἀνατρέπεται ἡ μίσθωσις, εἰ μὴ γέγονε δόλος (a lease cannot be annulled on grounds that the agreed rental is less than the going rate, unless deception can be proven) (8). Leases were freely negotiable, and rentals could be renegotiated at agreed upon intervals or at the expiration of the lease. A tenant could not be evicted against his will before the expiration of his lease, even if someone else offered a higher rent (οὐ δύναται ἐκβάλλειν ἄκοντα τὸν μισθωσάμενον ὁ μισθώσας, κἂν ἄλλος αὐτῷ εἰσάγει πλεῖον μίσθωμα, δηλονότι πρὸ τοῦ ὡρισμένου χρόνου) (9). Nonetheless, in the case of workshops leased to guild members, the *Book of the Eparch* (10) criminalized the acquisition of such properties, for the most part in prime locations and hence in short supply, by deceitfully bidding up the rent (11). Apparently, the authorities were concerned that such stealthy practices could create an unsettling business environment by unwarrantedly strengthening the bargaining power of the landlords in the

(7) *B.* 20.1.2 ; B. 20.1.22,3 and scholia ; *Ecloga*, 7.1 ; *Prochiron Auctum*, 18. 18, 19 ; ATTALEIATES, *Ponema*, 12. 2 ; *Hexabiblos*, 3. 8.1-3, 20.

(8) *B.* 20.1.22,3 and scholium ; *Synopsis Basilicorum*, M.13.12 ; *Prochiron Auctum*, 18. 19.

(9) *Ecloga*, 7. 26 ; 7. 19 ; *Prochiron Auctum*, 18. 33 ; *Hexabiblos*, 3. 8. 34.

(10) The *Book of the Eparch* (hereafter *BE*) (*Ἐπαρχικὸν Βιβλίον*), probably compiled in 911 or 912, codified earlier decrees concerning the private guilds located in the capital. The Greek text was published with emendations by J. NICOLE, *Le Livre du Préfet ou l'Édit de l'Empereur Léon le Sage sur les Corporations de Constantinople*, Geneva, 1893, and was reprinted in *JG*, II, pp. 371-392. NICOLE's French translation with the same title is reprinted in Variorum Reprints, London, 1970, pp. 119-203. English translations are by A. E. R. BOAK, *The Book of the Prefect*, in *Journal of Economic and Business History*, 1 (1929), pp. 597-619, and E. H. FRESHFIELD, *Roman Law in the Later Roman Empire : Byzantine Guilds Professional and Commercial*, Cambridge, 1938. A recent critical edition of the Greek text and a German translation is by J. KODER, *Das Eparchenbuch Leons des Weisen*, Vienna, 1991. The *Book of the Eparch* is the main source of information on the Byzantine private guilds.

(11) *BE*, 4. 9 ; 9. 4 ; 10. 3 ; 11. 7 ; 13. 6 ; 19. 2. The blanket provision *BE*, 18. 5 extends the prohibition of such action to the remaining guilds dealt with but not explicitly mentioned in the *Book of the Eparch*.

face of a highly inelastic supply, thereby forcing the aggrieved tenants to accept unjustifiably excessive rent increases or face eviction and loss of goodwill. The provision did not prohibit rental adjustments reflecting changes in market conditions; rather, the aim was to frustrate opportunistic behavioral tendencies ([12]).

The tenor of the law, as reflected in the *Basilics*, the *Book of the Eparch*, and the legal texts composed between the tenth and fourteenth centuries already cited, provide unmistakable evidence that the state did not interfere with the process of price formation, that the going market prices were established under unfettered competition, and that prices reflected the prevailing market conditions, i.e. the interplay of effective demand and supply adjusted for prospective changes ([13]). The Byzantines did not make an intellectual effort to analyze the functions and the workings of the price mechanism. But even though they did not work out an analytical framework to explain the formation of prices, they were fully aware of the beneficial effect of the competitive interaction of the contracting parties on market prices, as they were cognizant of the price distortions caused by the concentration of economic power. They understood intuitively that prices reflected need, scarcity and cost. They could see that trading under competitive conditions sets prices at levels that reflect the willingness and ability of buyers to purchase the quantity of goods desired (demand) ([14]), and their scarcity and cost of production (supply). But they were not familiar with the intricate mechanism whereby the interaction of demand and supply and their elasticities determined the market price. Yet, they understood that shortages (real or artificial) resulted in higher prices and plenty in lower prices, as they were aware of

(12) Certainly, the stipulation did not mean to ban competition, as argued by G. MICKWITZ, *Die Kartellfunktionen der Zuenfte und ihre Bedeutung bei der Entstehung des Zunftwesens*, Helsinki, 1936, p. 223 ; or that the eparch regulated the rent of the workshops, as asserted by A. KAZHDAN, *Cechi i gosudarstvennye masterskie v Konstantinople v. IX-X vv.* (Guilds and state workshops in Constantinople in IX-X Centuries), in *VV*, 6 (1953), p. 148 ; IDEM, *Derevnja i gorod v Vizantii IX-X vv* (Country and Town in Byzantium in the Ninth and Tenth Centuries), Moscow, 1960, p. 321.

(13) Businessmen set prices using replacement not incurred costs, which is suggestive of a pricing policy based on subjectively anticipated price movements.

(14) They certainly appreciated the budget constraint in effecting purchases.

the factors that caused prices to fluctuate ([15]). They also knew that in the case of perishable commodities (day market period), at times sellers may have to sell at a price which may not enable them to recover their costs due to the risk of spoilage ([16]) ; or that, in the short run, sellers may be forced to recoup only part of their total costs (their variable costs) ([17]). Finally, they recognized that the business of buying and selling is subject to unpredictable events, miscalculations and sheer chance and, in consequence, traders' earnings can be positive and negative. On the other hand, they were concerned that market prices could be manipulated. To prevent

(15) Regional market fragmentation, seasonality of shipments, interruption of trade traffic due to hostilities, piracy, or inclement weather, unreliable and risky transport, inefficient distribution system, lack of storage facilities, and poor harvests or bumper crops, all meant that even small changes in demand and supply could exert a disproportionately larger impact on market prices. Quality, origin, metrological interpretation of measures and weights, the value of the currency, and the particular circumstances of the sale also added to price variations. Most of these factors though reflected the impact of local or transitory conditions.

(16) In the day market period, firms cannot adjust their output and hence supply is fixed. The price at which the market will be cleared is therefore determined by demand alone. This outcome differs markedly from the corresponding result for the short and long runs, where demand and supply jointly determine both the equilibrium price and quantity. However, this day market equilibrium will only exist temporarily, and it cannot be reasonably expected that the market equilibrium price will be similar to prices in preceding or succeeding market periods. For details and a diagrammatic presentation, see C. E. FERGUSON, *Microeconomic Theory*, Homewood Illinois, 1969, pp. 225-227 ; A. W. STONIER and D. C. HAGUE, *A Textbook of Economic Theory*, London, 1957, pp. 153, 156-157.

(17) In the long run, firms will have to recover their total costs and earn a normal profit, i.e. the minimal profit necessary to induce a businessman to continue in operation. In the short run, however, at least temporarily and in anticipation that "things will get better", i.e. the market will improve or efforts will be made to cut costs, a firm may accept prices that *de minimis* cover variable costs. The reason is that, at any price above that which covers variable costs, although it does not cover full costs (= variable costs + fixed costs), the firm will continue to operate because it minimizes its loss, since it recoups variable costs and part of the fixed costs. However, at any price that persistently does not cover variable costs, being unable to cover current expenses let alone fixed costs, the firm cannot continue in business since it will be making negative profits. More details and a diagrammatic presentation in G. M. MEIER, *Pricing Policy for Development Management*, Baltimore, 1989, pp. 38, 114-123 ; D. S. WATSON, *Price Theory and its Uses*, New York, 1968, pp. 235-238 ; FERGUSON, *Microeconomic Theory*, pp. 232-236 ; STONIER and HAGUE, *A Textbook of Economic Theory*, pp. 157-161.

such occurrences and ensure the unimpeded functioning of the market mechanism, they enacted pro-competitive legislation and set norms of business conduct to thwart unfair competition.

III. Preserving Competition

The competitive process was buttressed with a set of institutional arrangements. They included such legal props as anti-monopoly legislation and anti-hoarding rules; the one-man one-trade directive in guild organized sectors ; organization of the marketplace in a fashion that prevented fragmentation, increased efficiency, and kept transaction costs low ; assurances regarding the enforceability of property rights in a court of law ; and norms of business behavior to ensure fairness in commercial deals and forestall illicit competition. Enforced consistently, these measures would go a long way toward thwarting monopolistic practices, maintaining competition, and assuring the consumer of a fair deal.

Anti-monopoly Legislation

To ensure the integrity of business activities and preserve competition, the Byzantines had enacted anti-monopoly legislation. *Monopoly*, i.e. dominant market control by one firm or by several acting in concert, and *monopolization*, i.e. market conduct involving actions undertaken to secure and maintain a monopolistic market position by effecting the weakening, elimination or exclusion of competitors (e.g., through such predatory or exclusionary tactics as monopolization of inputs, predatory price cutting, vertical or horizontal agreements or conspiracies), were forbidden and punishable by law, as were express or tacit agreements to fix prices. The inflicted penalties ranged from stiff fines to confiscation of property and permanent exile. Tribunals were also liable to penalties if, because of venality, discrimination or other failings, did not enforce the law ([18]). Also, the preamble of the *Book of the Eparch*, in setting forth the animus of the statutory provisions for the guilds, emphatically states that the parties to commercial transactions should not brazenly take advantage of one another, the financially stronger should not do injustice to the weaker, and no person shall oppress his fellow man, but all actions should

(18) *B.* 19.18.1 ; *Ecloga*, 15. 25 ; *Synopsis Basilicorum*, Π. 24.1 ; Attaleiates, *Ponema*, 11. 7 ; *Synopsis Minor*, M. 4.

be governed by the rule of law (19). In essence, the *Book of the Eparch* not only instituted the official industrial and commercial policy for the metropolis, but also extended the pertinent legal provisions which sought to restrain monopoly and promote competition to guild organized activities as well. Thus, guild members were forbidden to preempt purchases of imported raw materials, finished goods, or livestock by traveling outside the capital (20). Were they allowed to do so, entrenched members

(19) KODER, *Eparchenbuch*, p. 72.

(20) *BE*, 5. 2, 3, 4 ; 6. 8, 12 ; 7. 4 ; 9. 3 ; 15. 3 ; 16. 2 ; 17. 3. On the other hand, wholesale livestock dealers were not to hinder peasants from coming into the capital to make their sales there (*BE*, 15. 4). In this context, provision *BE*, 15. 3 has been interpreted by some as stipulating that the butchers were forbidden to meet merchants who sell flocks of sheep in towns near the capital ; instead, they *must* go to areas far beyond and make their purchases there, so that they may acquire the sheep cheaper and the resultant profit be appropriated by them and not by the merchants. NICOLE, *Livre du Préfet*, p. 63 and n. 1 ; FRESHFIELD, *Roman Law*, pp. 38-39 ; KODER, *Eparchenbuch*, p. 125 ; C. M. MACRI, *L'organisation de l' économie urbaine dans Byzance sous la dynastie macédoine*, Paris, 1925, p. 60 ; S. RUNCIMAN, *Byzantine Trade and Industry*, in *Cambridge Economic History of Europe*, Cambridge, 1987, II, p. 157 ; M. F. HENDY, *Studies in the Byzantine Monetary Economy c. 300-1450*, Cambridge, 1985, pp. 55, 562-563. Others render the provision as enjoining the butchers to *remain* in the capital, and under no circumstances should they go out of the city to meet the sheep merchants, the concern being that they might have to pay too high a price. A. STOECKLE, *Spaetroemische und byzantinische Zuenfte*, Leipzig, 1911, pp. 42-43 ; BOAK, *The Book of the Prefect*, p. 615 and n. 3 ; G. ZORAS, *Le corporazioni bizantine*, Rome, 1931, pp.195-96. This latter interpretation, not totally unfounded, is based on provisions *BE*, 15. 4 and 5, which stipulate that the sheep merchants may sell their flocks in the capital at specified time periods. Similarly, pork dealers were enjoined to make their purchases only in the capital and in the designated marketplace (*BE*, 16. 2). Finally, A. P. CHRISTOPHILOPOULOS, *Τὸ 'Επαρχικὸν Βιβλίον Λέοντος τοῦ Σοφοῦ καὶ αἱ Συντεχνίαι ἐν Βυζαντίῳ*, Athens, 1935, pp. 88-89, and KAZHDAN, *Derevnja*, p. 321, maintain that, exceptionally, the butchers were allowed to make purchases outside the capital, albeit not in nearby towns.

Apparently, there is a contradiction between the spirit of the provisions *BE*, 15. 3 and 4 and the general state policy for guild members not to seek suppliers outside the capital (*BE*, 5. 2, 3, 4 ; 6. 8, 12 ; 8. 8 ; 9. 3 ; 16. 2 ; 17. 3). The inconsistency could perhaps be explained away by interpreting provision *BE*, 15. 3 as meaning to imply that, as a rule, butchers are not to make purchases near the capital, possibly, as MICKWITZ argues, *Kartellfunktionen*, p. 214 n. 1, to prevent them from raising prices in these regional local markets. However, butchers who deem they can buy sheep much cheaper by going farther away, presumably to

could buy up incoming supplies before other members had a chance to make purchases ("*forestalling*"), thereby denying equal access to all guild members and effectively monopolizing the import trade for their own benefit.

To be sure, anti-monopoly legislation is not easy to implement because it is hard to detect and prove such actions, especially when illicit agreements are informal. Conceivably, political influence could also attenuate the force of statutory provisions, particularly in the provinces. However, neither large commercial interests nor the guilds ever took control of the imperial government and, hence, they were not in position to advance narrow economic interests. Moreover, the situation was quite different under a guild organizational structure, where patterns of illegal conduct and flagrant transgressions of the law could hardly elude the attention of vigilant chiefs within the confined boundaries of the capital. In implementing the statutes, the emperor employed professional civil servants worthy of the high standards of their office, not officials who had purchased their office expecting to extract a satisfactory return on their investment or self-interested guild members ([21]). The assignment of the

Paphlagonia and Phrygia, they *may* do so, probably by getting special dispensation. It would be unrealistic and impractical to *require* butchers to go to remote areas in search of supplies, as many may not have the means to make large wholesale purchases, or the ability and time to undertake such journeys. Furthermore, the tenor of provisions *BE,* 15. 1-5 suggests that the marketing of the sheep is to take place mainly in the capital. This exception can be rationalized on grounds that the very option and its potential exercise would counteract the bargaining power of the sheep merchants and would temper their pricing power. The sheep merchants' market power emanated from their ability to assemble and drive to the capital large flocks, and the fact that it was unprofitable for small farmers raising sheep in distant places to bring them all the way to the capital and, hence, had no choice but to sell locally to sheep traders. Moreover, because of their limited number and their ability to stagger the quantities offered for sale each market day, external suppliers could avoid market gluts and effectively regulate the supply of sheep, thereby enhancing their bargaining strength vis-a-vis the quasi-monopsony power of the organized butchers.

(21) STOECKLE, *Byzantinische Zuenfte*, p. 84, CHRISTOPHILOPOULOS, *Συντεχνίαι*, pp. 47-48, 49 and n. 1, M. J. SJUZJUMOV, *Remeslo i torgovlja v Konstantinopole v nacale X v* (Crafts and Trade in Constantinople at the Beginning of the Tenth Century), in *VV*, 4 (1951), p. 39, BOAK, *The Book of the Prefect*, p. 599, S. RUNCIMAN, *Byzantine Civilization*, London,1933, p. 175, and N. OIKONOMIDES, *Entrepreneurs*, in *The Byzantines,* ed. G. CAVALLO, Chicago, 1997, p. 155, maintain that the chiefs of the guilds, though official organs of the

supervisory task to a disinterested, full-time body of officers loyal to the emperor and paid by the *fiscus* ensured their diligence and evenhandedness, all the more so since they carried out their duties in a highly localized market and amidst the ubiquitous presence of informers ([22]) — conditions least conducive to venal behavior and breach of trust. Besides, the authorities watched carefully the performance of the executive officers, and there was no doubt of the dire consequences in case of dereliction of duty. The emperor could imprison, banish, discharge from office or demote any person who betrayed his trust, confiscate his assets and personal property, and inflict corporal punishment. Rank, reputation or wealth afforded no immunity against the imperial will.

Anti-hoarding Rules

The uninterrupted flow of supplies and price competition were reinforced not only by anti-monopoly legislation but by strict anti-hoarding rules as well. Those who bought up goods before they reached the market and hoarded them in order to sell them in times of scarcity, if they were merchants, they had their merchandise confiscated or they were exiled; if they were of low social standing, they were sentenced to hard labor in public works : Οἱ ἐν τῇ εὐθηνίᾳ ἐπιβουλεύοντες διὰ τοῦ προαγοράζειν τὰ φορτία ἢ ἀποτίθεσθαι καὶ καιρὸν ἀφορίας

state, were chosen from among their members. However, this is true only for the society (σύλλογος) of the notaries who, because of their legal training, high ethical standards, and distinct quasi-judicial function, were considered as a breed apart and were subjected to a different set of rules (*BE*, 1. 1-26). In reality, the society of notaries was not a guild proper. See G. C. MANIATIS, *The Domain of Private Guilds in the Byzantine Economy, Tenth to Fifteenth Centuries*, in *DOP*, 55 (2001), pp. 341-343. The *ad hoc* procedure of selecting their chief certainly cannot be applied by analogy to guilds involved in totally unrelated industrial and trade activities. In dealing with the guilds proper (συστήματα), the *Book of the Eparch* nowhere indicates that the chiefs were chosen from among the guild members or alludes to the process of their selection. This is understandable, as the authorities could not trust active guild members to perform their duties impartially in view of their vested interest.

(22) KEKAUMENOS, *Στρατηγικόν*, text and annotated modern Greek translation by D. TSOUNGARAKES, Athens, 1993, p. 39, advises the emperor's attendants to place spies in every guild and follow up on their activities, so that they be kept informed of any hatched schemes (ἔχε κατασκόπους πάντη καὶ πανταχοῦ εἰς πάντα τὰ συστήματα, ἵν' ὁπόταν μελετηθῇ τι, μάθῃς τοῦτο).

ἐκδέχεσθαι, πραγματευταὶ μὲν ὄντες εἴργονται τῆς πραγματείας ἢ ἐξορίζονται. Οἱ δὲ εὐτελεῖς εἰς δημόσιον ἔργον καταδικάζονται ([23]). Even a slave's evidence about his master's wrongful act was admissible and sufficient to establish guilt ([24]). The *Book of the Eparch* also addressed specific instances of unconscionable deals resulting in excessive profits and criminalized such business conduct. Thus, guild members were forbidden to hoard imported commodities in times of scarcity in order to raise prices unduly and exact unfair profits (... μὴ ἀποθησαυρίζειν δὲ ταύτην [τὴν πραγματείαν] εἰς καιρὸν ἐνδείας πρὸς παράλογον κέρδος, μήτε μὴν πολυολκεῖν τὰς τιμὰς πέραν τοῦ δέοντος) ([25]). Also, to prevent hoarding, guild members were urged to make purchases in quantities commensurate with their processing capacity or turnover ([26]). Finally, the grocers were required to keep an eye on and report to the eparch any diversion of imported goods pertaining to their trade to non-guild members, lest they store them up and raise their prices ([27]).

The One-Man One-Trade Rule

The law enjoined guild members from partaking concurrently in more than one guild : ἑνὸς δὲ μόνον ὀφείλει συστήματος εἶναι καὶ ἀναχωρεῖν τῶν λοιπῶν ([28]). The intention was to preserve the mandated functional division of labor among guilds, whereby no *two* guilds could

(23) *B.* 60.22.6 ; *B.* 60.44.2 ; *Synopsis Basilicorum*, Π. 24. 3 ; ATTALEIATES, *Ponema*, 35. 57 ; *Synopsis Minor*, E. 45 ; *Hexabiblos*, 6.15.7 ; 6.14.13. High ranking officials (ἄρχοντες) and their attendants were forbidden by law to be involved in commercial transactions, lest they may take advantage of their office and enter into underhanded deals. *B.* 23.1.33 ; *Prochiron Auctum*, 17. 33 ; ATTALEIATES, *Ponema*, 15. 4 ; *Hexabiblos*, 3. 5. 2 ; 3. 3. 6. See also *B.* 56.1.21 and *Synopsis Basilicorum*, Π. 24. 2.

(24) *B.* 60.44.1 ; *Synopsis Basilicorum*, Π. 24. 4.

(25) *BE*, 10. 2. Cf also *BE*, 7. 1 ; 11. 3 ; 13. 4 ; 14. 1 ; 15. 6 ; 16. 5 ; 20. 3.

(26) *BE*, 2. 8, 9 ; 7. 1 ; 14. 1 ; 15. 6 ; 16. 5.

(27) *BE*, 13. 4.

(28) *B.* 60.32.1. The prohibition is repeated in the *Book of the Eparch* : 2. 1 ; 4. 1, 7 ; 5. 1 ; 6. 14, 15 ; 8. 6 ; 9. 6 ; 10. 1, 5, 6 ; 11. 2, 8 ; 12. 4, 6 ; 13. 1 ; 14. 2 ; 15. 1 ; 21. 7. The remaining crafts dealt with but not explicitly mentioned in the *Book of the Eparch* were subject to the blanket prohibition of provision 18. 5 : no one may enter the craft of another and practice both concurrently ; he must choose one and give up the other, informing the eparch of his choice.

compete in the purchase or sale of the *same* good, and to curb the *parallel practice* in whatever form of two trades or crafts. Hence the prohibition of *vertical integration*, i.e. the expansion into preceding or succeeding phases of production and distribution ([29]), and *horizontal integration*, i.e. the expansion into similar or diverse activities conducted by other guilds ([30]), whether individually or through a partnership leading to a union of trades ([31]). Insistence on strict division of labor prevented enterprise growth *unrelated* to market demand, dominant occupancy of the market by a few large firms, and weakening or elimination of competitors based on the exercise of sheer market power — in short, monopolization or lessening of competition in sectors vital to the capital's economy ([32]).

(29) *BE*, 4. 7 ; 6. 14 ; 7. 3 ; 8. 6.

(30) *BE*, 2. 1 ; 4. 1 ; 5. 1 ; 10. 6 ; 11. 2 ; 13. 1 ; 15. 1.

(31) The formulation of provision *BE*, 9. 1, dealing with the activities of the linen merchants, gives the impression that the merchants of domestic silk garments (*vestiopratai*) dealt not only with silk but with cotton dresses (βαμβακίνους χιτῶνας) as well, which is inconsistent with the principle of separation of trades. Translators either accepted the duality of the silk garment merchants' occupation or the anomaly somehow eluded them : NICOLE, *Le Livre du Préfet*, p. 39 ; BOAK, *The Book of the Prefect*, p. 610 ; FRESHFIELD, *Roman Law*, pp. 27-28 ; KODER, *Eparchenbuch*, p. 107. *ODB*, s.v. Vestioprates, indicates that the *vestiopratai* dealt both in *silk* and *linen* garments, reflecting the unwarranted impression that the sale of linen cloth to *vestiopratai* by linen merchants was used to make dresses and not as lining in silk garments. M. GREGORIOU-IOANNIDOU provides a convincing explanation for the apparent anomaly. Based on careful analysis of narrative sources, she shows that there has been a linguistic alteration in the original Greek text of the correct word βομβύκινος (= silk) into the incorrect βαμβάκινος (= cotton) : *Μιά παρατήρηση στο Επαρχικό Βιβλίο για τους Βεστιοπράτες*, in *Βυζαντιακά*, 13 (1993), pp. 27-35, especially pp. 32-35. Following the correction, provision *BE*, 9. 1 clearly alludes to the use of linen in silk dresses : ... ἀκωλύτως ταύτην ἐξωνείσθωσαν πρὸς τὸ χορηγεῖσθαι παρ' αὐτῶν τοῖς βεστιοπράταις λόγῳ ἐνδυμάτων τῶν βομβυκίνων χιτώνων... STOECKLE, *Byzantinische Zuenfte*, p. 34, CHRISTOPHILOPOULOS, *Συντεχνίαι*, p. 87, and R. S. LOPEZ, *Silk Industry in the Byzantine Empire*, in *Speculum*, 20 (1945), p. 31, intuitively had the right construct. By the same token, there are no grounds for G. G. LITAVRIN's assertion without comment that the *vestiopratai* were also engaged in the trade of woolens : *Vizantijskoe obščhestvo i gosudarstvo v X-XI vv : I problemy istorii odnogo stoletiia 976-1081 gg* (Byzantine Society and State in Tenth and Eleventh Centuries : Historical Problems of One Century 976-1081), Moscow, 1977, p. 135.

(32) Several hypotheses have been advanced regarding the rationale for this provision : to keep the guilds from banding together and become a threat to the state ; to foster labor specialization and facilitate state supervision of industrial,

Certainly, the purpose of the rule was not to prevent a move from one occupation to another within the guild system ; if one relinquished his current occupation and qualified he could take up another craft. The policy aim of the rule was to restrain the growth of firms in sheer size at the expense of enterprises operating upstream, downstream or laterally — a development which was not the outcome of genuine market growth, and that the growth of market demand be shared by as many firms as possible and be met by existing firms and/or new entry ([33]). The law did not

trade and labor activities ; to maintain quality control over manufactures ; and to make easier the levy and collection of taxes and prevent fiscal fraud. J. P. WALTZING, *Étude historique sur les corporations professionnelles chez les Romains*, Louvain, 1895, I, pp. 147 n. 1, 150, 354 and n. 3 ; STOECKLE, *Byzantinische Zuenfte*, pp. 98-99 ; MACRI, *Organisation*, pp. 35, 40-41, 46, 57-58, 61 ; ZORAS, *Corporazioni bizantine*, pp. 76-78. Though plausible, these explanations do not derive from the *Book of the Eparch* and are peripheral at best. The focus of state control was largely on ensuring fair business practices, thwarting the manufacture and export of prohibited articles (mainly prized silks), and preventing entrenched guild members from acquiring monopoly power by restricting competition through vertical or horizontal integration.

(33) Although conditioned on certain qualifications (integrity, capability, financial means), requirements (payment of a one-time nominal entrance fee), and the attestation of several respectable persons, legal entry into the manufacturing and trade guilds was not restricted. In the first place, the *Book of the Eparch* did not fix the number of firms that might be established within each guild. Possession of technical skills was not a precondition to setting up shop, as long as the requisite expertise could be acquired through hiring or a partnership. Cf. M. J. SJUZJUMOV, *Kniga Eparcha* (Book of the Eparch), Sverdlovsk, 1949, pp. 85, 211-212 ; IDEM, *Remeslo*, p. 17 ; LITAVRIN, *Vizantijskoe obščhestvo*, p.140 n. 94. Contra : KAZHDAN, *Derevnja*, p. 317 ; IDEM, *Cechi*, pp. 141-142. The decision on accepting new entrants was not made by guild members, or even their chiefs, but by the eparch (*BE*, 2. 10 ; 3. 1 ; 4. 5 ; 6. 6, 7 ; 7. 3 ; 8. 13 ; 12. 2 ; 14. 1 ; 16. 1). Guild members not only did not nominate, but they were not even consulted on prospective candidates. Cf. CHRISTOPHILOPOULOS, *Συντεχνίαι*, pp. 37-38 ; MACRI, *Organisation*, pp. 52, 73 ; A. D. SIDERIS, *Ἱστορία τοῦ Οἰκονομικοῦ Βίου*, Athens, 1950, p. 269 ; SJUZJUMOV, *Remeslo*, p. 17. Contra : RUNCIMAN, *Byzantine Civilization*, p. 175. At times, new entry probably was challenged by existing members, but it is unlikely that they could sway the eparch's decision, as he was keenly interested in increasing productive capacity and fostering intra-guild competition which would ensure high quality of output and lower prices. Entry was probably denied only when it would result in *chronic* excess capacity and oversupply, leading to cutthroat price reductions, subnormal earnings to enterprises and labor, and high rates of business mortality, i.e. to prevent *excessive* or *destructive competition*. In most guilds slaves were admitted as members

impede enterprising and price competitive firms from exploiting their growth potential. Enterprises could increase their market shares by exploiting the growth in demand and by chipping away at the shares of fellow guild members through intra-guild competition, as the *Book of the Eparch* neither secured the market position of the members nor prevented the exit of uncompetitive enterprises. Nor did the law forbid price or non-price (e.g., product variation, terms of sale) competition. The imposed restriction solely aimed to prevent the creation of multi-stage firms, a move that was viewed as *unrelated* to market growth and which could have inimical effects on competition. Such inroads would have negated a major objective of the regulatory regime, namely the preservation of competition and prevention of monopolies.

Organization of the Marketplace

Market localization, development of specialized trading, and conduct of wholesale business transactions during specified market days (34) in-

provided they were sponsored by their masters. This meant that venturesome wealthy individuals and noblemen could establish industrial and commercial firms in activities under mandatory guild control by using their slaves as surrogates, if they encountered a conflict of interest, wished to remain inconspicuous, or were unwilling to be involved personally in the day-to-day operations of the enterprise. Interestingly, such an involvement has been criticized as an infiltration of lucrative businesses or as a stealthy, forcible, sinister and exploitative action, deriving from the exercise of political or economic power. D. JACOBY, *Silk in Western Byzantium Before the Fourth Crusade*, *in BZ*, 84-85 (1991-1992), p. 477 ; SJUZJUMOV, *Remeslo*, pp.15-16 ; E. FRANCÈS, *L'État et les métiers* à *Byzance*, in *Bsl*, 23 (1962), pp. 239-240 ; A. MUTHESIUS, *The Byzantine silk industry : Lopez and beyond*, in *Journal of Medieval History*, 19 (1993), pp. 34-37 ; LITAVRIN, *Vizantijskoe obščhestvo*, p. 150. Yet, such entry, far from being surreptitious, suspect and inimical, should rather be considered as a conscious and forward-looking effort on the part of the authorities to provide a vent to latent entrepreneurship and tap a source of capital for the expansion of industry and trade. New entry would promote competition through growth of guild membership, expand production for domestic consumption and exports, and increase the chances of employment and better pay for the capital's workforce — policy objectives yielding significant economic and political dividends.

(34) For instance, market days were set for imports of raw silk (*BE*, 6. 8), silks (*BE*, 5. 3), and linen (*BE*, 9. 3). Provision *BE*, 10. 2 enjoins the importers of perfumes, spices and dyestuffs to make their purchases on the designated days (καθώς ἂν ἡ ἡμέρα τὴν ὠνὴν ἔχῃ τοῦ εἴδους). Cf. FRESHFIELD, *Roman Law*,

creased market efficiency, as it reduced transaction costs by lessening the time and cost of search for information by buyers and sellers, and expedited the flow of information about the attributes of the marketed products and price ranges ([35]). In particular, localization of transactions, repeated dealings, and enforceable legal rules on the conduct of trade promoted personalized exchange, which reduced uncertainty ([36]) and kept transaction costs very low ([37]) by containing opportunism ([38]). Designation of narrowly bounded marketplaces for the free conduct of the wholesale and retail trades in the capital ([39]), prohibition of individual guild members to preempt purchases of imported goods by traveling outside the capital ([40]), and interdiction of external suppliers to sell directly to retailers outside the designated marketplace ([41]), prevented market fragmentation, forestalled commodity diversion and stealthy transactions ([42]),

p. 30. BOAK, *The Book of the Prefect*, p. 611, and KODER, *Eparchenbuch*, p. 111, render the passage as implying that purchases from the suppliers should be made at the *going price*. However, the suggested interpretation would have been counter to the official policy of putting pressure on external suppliers to obtain the lowest possible prices (see pp. 430-433 below), and would in effect have frozen a given price structure — which is unrealistic. The purchase price in each market day would depend on the prevailing market conditions and the bargaining power and skills of the parties to the exchange which would tend to vary. Acceptance of an historic price would have made no economic sense.

(35) G. J. STIGLER, *The Economics of Information*, in *Journal of Political Economy*, 69 (1961), pp. 213, 216 ; D. C. NORTH, *Institutions, Institutional Change and Economic Performance*, New York, 1990, pp. 27-30, 34.

(36) NORTH, *Institutions*, pp. 22, 25.

(37) For instance, costs associated with ascertaining alleged attributes of the product, checking the standing of the agents involved, protecting property rights, or enforcing agreements, financial arrangements, etc..

(38) Opportunism has been aptly defined as "the ability of one party to an exchange to benefit at the expense of the other party by violating the agreement in his or her post-contractual behavior" : D. C. NORTH, *Structure and Change in Economic History*, New York,1981, p. 36.

(39) Designated markeplaces for imports and wholesale trade : raw silk, silk fabrics and linens (*BE*, 5. 2 ; 6. 5 ; 9. 3, 6) ; purfumes, spices and dyestuffs (*BE*, 10. 2) ; livestock (*BE*, 15. 5 ; 16. 2, 3 ; 21. 3) ; fish (*BE*, 17. 3) ; for retail trade : *BE*, 2.11 ; 10. 2 ; 17. 1 ; 21. 3.

(40) See p. 408 and n. 20.

(41) *BE*, 16. 3 ; 21. 9.

(42) No work could be done and no deals could be concluded in the homes of guild members (*BE*, 2. 11 ; 6. 1, 13 ; 9. 7 ; 11. 1 ; 21. 3), or secretely in the dark corners and back alleys of the capital (*BE*, 3. 2, 6 ; 16. 2, 4 ; 21. 3). The

fostered competitive pricing behavior, ensured the unfettered functioning of the market mechanism, and impeded the emergence of gray markets. Moreover, since wholesale prices were the foundation for establishing retail prices, such behavioral patterns could not but influence price formation in the retail markets as well. Designated marketplaces, common law provisions on fairness in business transactions, and local customs permitted the unencumbered conduct of wholesale and retail transactions in the provincial commercial centers as well.

Guild members were forbidden to supply inputs and finished goods to non-guild members ([43]) ; to buy imported inputs on behalf of influential or wealthy persons ([44]) ; to act as procurement agents for members of unauthorized guilds, barter or purchase goods they were not authorized to handle ([45]) ; or to sell such inputs unprocessed ([46]). The main purpose of compulsory guild membership and particular restrictions in economic activities undertaken by firms mandatorily organized into guilds was to forestall the growth of *commercial* manufacturing and trade activities outside the guild system. By funneling all commercial transactions through a controllable setting in statutorily designated sectors deemed important for the capital's economy, competition would be enhanced through the increased number of players, the strict division of labor among guilds could be enforced, and the emergence of monopolistic market structures and the concentration of economic power could be thwarted. It would be simplistic to suggest that a *mandatory* guild system was instituted only to allow the parallel conduct of the same commercial activities outside the purview and control of the authorities, whether by noblemen ([47]), wealthy

measure aimed to ensure that all business transactions took place in the designated marketplaces and that they were aboveboard.

(43) *BE*, 3. 2 ; 6. 16 ; 8. 8 ; 11. 1 ; 13. 4 ; 12. 4, 7 ; 16. 3.

(44) *BE*, 6. 10 ; 7. 1.

(45) *BE*, 9. 6 ; 11. 8 ; 12. 1, 4, 6 ; 13. 4.

(46) *BE*, 6. 1, 13 ; 7.1. The stipulation that raw materials cannot be sold to traders who intended to export them unprocessed (*BE*, 6. 16) reflects a primary concern to avoid unwarranted shortages and consequent price increases. It also points to a conscious policy of exporting only finished goods from the capital, which generated employment opportunities locally and a much higher value added.

(47) It has been argued that, despite the prohibition, the nobility, in collusion with guild members, managed to have silks produced for their account or at their homes, which in turn they sold on the market. G. Mickwitz, *Die Organisationsformen zweir Gewerbe im X. Jahrhundert*, in *BZ*, 36 (1936), pp. 75-76 ;

enterprising individuals, or small scale traders and craftsmen, as has been argued ([48]). It would serve no purpose to set up an organizational structure, designate operational functions at each stage of the productive process, and enact elaborate regulations concerning admission, obligations and conduct, only to let the assigned activities be conducted outside

IDEM, *Un problème d'influence : Byzance et l'économie de l'occident médiéval*, in *Annales d'Histoire Économique et Sociale*, 7 (1936), p. 27 ; KAZHDAN, *Cechi*, p.153 ; SJUZJUMOV, *Remeslo*, p. 29 ; LOPEZ, *Silk Industry*, p. 16. Similarly, provision *BE*, 16. 4, which prohibits pork dealers to hide pigs in nobles' houses, has led to the inference that dignitaries were illicitly involved in the livestock trade : SJUZJUMOV, *Remeslo*, p. 30 ; G. DAGRON, *The Urban Economy, Seventh-Twelfth Centuries*, in *The Economic History of Byzantium*, II, p. 457. However, the notion that the powerful would be involved in an unlawful activity and that guild members would be willing to cooperate in spite of the ubiquitous presence of informers and the inflicted severe penalties is strained. The *cautionary* provisions of the law aimed to thwart *potential* transgressions and cannot be construed as *proof* of a prevailing pattern of unlawful actions by dignitaries. Besides, the powerful did not have to resort to underhanded and risky deals, flout the law, and be humiliated if caught — a virtual certainty, as illegal conduct and flagrant transgressions of the law could hardly elude the attention of the vigilant chiefs. They could openly and profitably invest their capital in silk manufacturing (or any other activity for that matter) by lending to guild members, by entering into a partnership with a guild member, or by setting up shop and run it themselves or by sponsoring a slave. The nobility was free to exploit business opportunities, but in particular sectors they had to operate through the guild system. See also n. 33 above.

(48) J. NICOLE, *Notices détachées pour servir à la critique et l'exégèse de l'édit de Léon le Sage*, in *Livre du Préfet*, Variorum Reprints, London, 1970, p. 80 ; STOECKLE, *Byzantinische Zuenfte*, p. 8 ; H. GEHRING, *Das Zunftwesen Konstantinopels im zehnten Jahrhundert*, in *Jahrbuecher fuer Nationaloeconomie und Statistik*, 38 (1909), p. 580 ; BOAK, *The Book of the Prefect*, p. 608 n. 5 ; ZORAS, *Corporazioni bizantine*, p. 172 ; LOPEZ, *Silk Industry*, pp.15-16 ; KAZHDAN, *Cechi*, pp.138-39, 144, 146-47, 153 ; IDEM, *Derevnja*, pp. 334, 336, 342, 344 ; RUNCIMAN, *Byzantine Trade*, pp.154 n. 12, 156 ; D. SIMON, *Die byzantinischen Seidenzuenfte*, in *BZ*, 68 (1975), pp. 36-39 ; M. ANGOLD, *The Shaping of the Medieval Byzantine 'City'*, in *BF*, 10 (1985), pp. 29-30 ; IDEM, *The Byzantine Empire 1025-1204*, London, 1997, p. 94 ; MUTHESIUS, *Byzantine silk industry*, p. 32 ; P. HORDEN, *The Confraternities of Byzantium*, in *Voluntary Religion*, ed. W. T. SHEILDS and D. WOOD, London, 1986, p. 35. Contra : CHRISTOPHILOPOULOS, *Συντεχνίαι*, pp. 4, 36, 50 ; MICKWITZ, *Organisationsformen*, pp. 72-74 ; SIDERIS, *Ἱστορία*, p. 264 ; B. MENDL, *Les corporations byzantines*, in *Bsl*, 22 (1961), pp. 302, 304, 312-318 ; LITAVRIN, *Vizantijskoe obščhestvo*, pp. 130, 151.

the guild system. Had this happened, the guild system effectively would have been scuttled. The practice of a craft or trade was fundamentally free, except for the exercise of certain narrowly defined economic activities in the capital, where the law required that the practitioners operate within the guild organizational structure.

Ensuring Fairness in Commercial Transactions

To instill good faith and ensure fairness in business deals, in the sense that the negotiated price reflected the simultaneous fulfillment of the buyer's expectations and the seller's promised qualities of the article in question, the law set norms of business behavior and standards for the orderly conduct of commercial transactions, inflicting severe penalties on noncompliant guild members and unorganized craftsmen and tradesmen alike. Thus, it was a punishable offense for a businessman to buy another's wares at a price below the one agreed upon under some pretext, e.g., subsequent price decline ([49]). Vendors, having agreed on the price and received earnest money on a sale, were forbidden to raise the price afterwards ([50]). Businessmen were forbidden to sell their wares based on misleading information ([51]), adulterate their wares ([52]), alter the size of

(49) *BE*, 18. 5.

(50) *BE*, 6. 11 ; 9. 2 ; 10. 5 ; 11. 5. The blanket provision *BE*, 18. 5 extends the rule to the remaining trades. In the same vein, if the seller backed out of the deal, he had to pay the buyer double the earnest money. *Synopsis Basilicorum*, A. 3. 2b ; *Ecloga*, 16. 3 ; *Prochiron Auctum*, 15. 3 ; *Hexabiblos*, 3. 3. 3. Further, the seller who failed to deliver the agreed upon thing was liable for the buyer's damage or lost gain, even if the sustained loss exceeded the value of the thing. *B.* 19. 8. 1 ; *Synopsis Basilicorum*, A. 10. 1 ; *Ecloga*, 16. 54 ; *Hexabiblos*, 3. 3. 52.

(51) Ὁ πωλῶν τινί τι ἐν εἰδήσει ἐπίψογον, οὐ μόνον εἰς τὸ τίμημα, ἀλλὰ καὶ εἰς πᾶσαν τὴν ἐκ τούτου ζημίαν κατέχεται (those who make sales by misinforming the buyer are liable for the price of the object as well as for any resulting damage). *B.* 19.10.1 ; *Synopsis Basilicorum*, A. 10. 9 ; *Ecloga ad Prochiron Mutata*, 11. 14 ; *Prochiron Auctum*, 15. 45.

(52) *BE*, 2. 5 ; 3. 1, 2 ; 7. 6 ; 10. 1 ; 11. 4, 6. In provision *BE*, 10. 1, the passage : ἐπιτηρείτωσαν μὲν ἀλλήλους, ὡς ἂν μὴ ἐλάττωσιν τῆς πραγματείας τινες ... ποιῶνται, has been rendered as : [the perfume, spice and dyes dealers] shall watch one another to prevent anyone from *lowering their prices* : Boak, *The Book of the Prefect*, p. 611 ; Kazhdan, *Cechi*, p.141 ; Idem, *Derevnja*, p. 321 ; Litavrin, *Vizantijskoe obščestvo*, p. 139. Kazhdan asserts further (*Ibid.*) that the stipulation implies that the guild members were enjoined to maintain

their measures, or use scales which had not been stamped by the eparch's office ([53]). Nor could they bid up deceitfully someone else's rent ([54]), go about their business in a noisy, rude, irascible or importunate manner, or consummate deals outside the designated marketplaces ([55]). Unorganized craftsmen and traders were subject to the common law for incorrect business conduct ([56]). Also, to impress self-discipline and probity in their dealings, the law enjoined certain craftsmen to watch one another and report underhanded deals, being held responsible if they failed to do so ([57]). Coercion ([58]) or fraud in sales was not condoned : ἡ κατὰ δόλον πρᾶσις οὐκ ἔρρωται (fraudulent sales are invalid) ([59]). Furthermore, in sales both of inanimate and animate (e.g., cattle, draft animals) things, vendors had to make known to the buyer latent defects. Concealment of blemishes could result in cancellation of the deal, reduction in price, or a fine (*caveat venditor*) ([60]). Finally, to ensure a measure of equivalence in

fixed prices and hence they were not allowed to compete among themselves. However, the correct interpretation of the passage is : to keep an eye on each other in order to prevent the sale of *adulterated* or *underweight* goods — to prevent the retailing of "debased wares" as FRESHFIELD put it : *Roman Law*, p. 29. Cf. also KODER, *Eparchenbuch*, p. 111. The aim of the provision was to ensure fair business practices, not to set price limits. Guilds were never enjoined to fix or maintain prices as this was illegal, and intra-guild competition, if anything, was encouraged.

(53) *B.* 60.22.6 scholium ; *B.* 60.51.33 ; *B.* 20.1. 13 ; *BE*, 11. 9 ; 12. 9 ; 13. 2 ; 16. 6 ; 19. 4 ; *Synopsis Basilicorum*, Π. 24. 3, 5 ; ATTALEIATES, *Ponema*, 35. 58.

(54) See above p. 404.

(55) *BE*, 7. 6 ; n. 42 above.

(56) *B.* 20.1.22 scholium ; *B.* 60.22.6 ; *B.* 60.44.2 ; *Synopsis Basilicorum*, Π. 24. 3, 5 ; *Ecloga*, 16. 30 ; *Peira*, 38. 29, 30 ; ATTALEIATES, *Ponema*, 11. 2 ; *Synopsis Minor*, Π. 18. 42 ; E. 45 ; *Hexabiblos*, 3. 3. 15, 19, 70 and scholium, 72 ; 6. 14. 12, 13, 16.

(57) *B.* 54.17 ; *BE*, 10.1 ; 11. 6.

(58) *B.* 19.10.65 ; *B.* 10.2.26,28 ; *Ecloga*, 16. 29 ; *Peira*, 38. 51 ; *Prochiron Auctum*, 15. 21, 36 ; *Hexabiblos*, 1. 11. 3 ; 3. 3. 68.

(59) *B.* 19.10.68 ; *Ecloga*, 16. 29, 48 ; *Peira*, 38. 54.

(60) *BE*, 21. 5, 6 ; *B.* 19.10, 34 ; *B.* 19.1.33(2), 43, 64 ; *B.* 19.6.9 ; *B.* 19.8.4, 6, 13, 21 ; *B.* 19. 10. 29 ; ATTALEIATES, *Ponema*, 11. 3 ; *Peira*, 38. 23, 24 ; *Synopsis Basilicorum*, A. 10. 6, 9 ; 12. 7 ; *Synopsis Minor*, Π. 19 ; *Hexabiblos*, 3. 3. 57-59, 61-63. OIKONOMIDES maintains that "...government offices verified the quality of goods brought to market. This applied to all merchandise, the most expensive as well as the least costly" : *Entrepreneurs*, pp. 154-55. The fact is that on the spot certification took place only in sales of cattle and work animals to ensure that they were free of defects and in good health : *BE*, 15. 2 ; 21. 4.

the bargaining position of the parties to the exchange, high ranking provincial authorities and their subordinates were not allowed to trade (κωλύονται πραγματεύεσθαι) (61).

IV. Impact of State Intervention on Price Formation

Forms of State Intervention

The state did not fix wholesale or retail prices ; but it did intervene in a fashion that *potentially* could affect the process of price formation. The state's intervention was three-pronged : it accorded monopsony/monopoly rights to a number of mandatorily constituted guilds in particular manufacturing and trade activities ; it set profit margins at the retail end for selected basic staples ; and introduced the concept of just price and its counterpart notion of excessive damage. The modalities of the state's interference have given the impression that the guilds had been empowered to price at will, that the market mechanism was virtually inoperative, and that the freedom of the parties to an exchange to determine the price which was the most advantageous to them was severely compromised. Thus, the picture that emerges from these misperceptions is one of a highly regulated economy where price competition all but vanished (62). In the following sections an attempt is made to put the regulatory system in proper perspective and assess its impact on price formation, by defining the domain and scope of the guilds' operations ; by establishing the extent of the pricing power wielded by individual guild members ; by ascertaining the likely impact of capped profit margins on the functioning of the market mechanism ; and by identifying the activities in which the just price was actually applied.

Scope of the Guilds' Activities

Contrary to the prevailing view (63), the guilds' economic activity in the capital was statutorily limited to activities viewed as vital to the local

(61) *B.* 19. 1. 44 ; *B.* 23.1.33 ; *B.* 56.1.21 ; *Synopsis Basilicorum*, A. 3. 12, 13 ; Attaleiates, *Ponema*, 15. 4 ; *Prochiron Auctum*, 17. 33 ; *Ecloga*, 14. 23 ; *Epanagoge Aucta*, 21. 4 ; *Synopsis Minor*, A. 22 ; *Hexabiblos*, 3. 5. 2 ; 3. 3. 6. See also n. 23 above.

(62) See n. 79 below.

(63) Nicole, *Le Livre du Préfet*, pp. 3, 11 ; Ch. Diehl, *Études byzantines*, Paris, 1905, p. 143 ; Mendl, *Corporations*, p. 303 ; Zoras, *Corporazioni bizan-*

economy or essential to the provisioning of the city. Only manufacturing and trade establishments operating in a limited number of state designated sectors were mandatorily organized into guilds, because the government deemed it necessary to oversee their activities (64). Deliberately, a multitude of business firms was left outside the state's purview (65), as the

tine, pp. 153, 207 ; MICKWITZ, *Kartellfunktionen*, pp. 226, 230 ; MACRI, *Organisation*, p. 33 ; KAZHDAN, *Cechi*, pp.137-38 ; IDEM, *Derevnja*, pp. 308, 334 ; SJUZJUMOV, *Remeslo*, pp.18-19 ; SIDERIS, *Ἱστορία*, pp. 264, 267-268 ; ANGOLD, *Byzantine 'City'*, p. 29 ; RUNCIMAN, *Byzantine Trade*, p. 154 n. 12 ; LOPEZ, *Silk Industry*, p. 20 ; G. OSTROGORSKY, *History of the Byzantine State*, London, 1968, pp. 253-254 ; FRESHFIELD, *Roman Law*, pp. XII-XIII; P. SHREINER, *Die Organisation byzantinischer Kaufleute und Handwerker*, in *Untersuchungen zu Handel und Verkehr der vor- und fruegeschichtlichen Zeit in Mittel- und Nordeuropa*, Goettingen, 1989, Teil VI, p. 51 ; S. VRYONIS, Jr., *Byzantine Δημοκρατία and the Guilds in the Eleventh Century*, in *DOP*, 17 (1963), pp. 293-294 , 297 n. 26 ; H. HUNGER, *State and Society in Byzantium*, in IDEM, *Epidosis. Gesammelte Schriften zur byzantinischen Geists- und Kulturgeschichte*, Munich, 1989, p. 205 ; A. TOYNBEE, *Constantine Porphyrogenitus and his World*, London, 1973, p. 41 ; LITAVRIN, *Vizantijskoe obščhestvo*, pp.148-49 ; DAGRON, *Urban Economy*, p. 407.

(64) The only craftsmen and merchants required to be organized into guilds were jewelers (*BE*, 2), bankers (*BE*, 3), those involved in silk manufacturing and trade (*BE*, 4-8), linen and spice dealers (*BE*, 9, 10), candlemakers (*BE*, 11), soapmakers (*BE*, 12), tanners and saddlers (*BE*, 14). A number of necessities were also handled by guilds : bread (*BE*, 18), fish (*BE*, 17), meat (*BE*, 15, 16), wine (*BE*, 19), and groceries (*BE*, 13). A great many trades dealing in other equally important and heavily marketed consumer goods, such as vegetables, fruits, milk, eggs, poultry, clothing, shoes, medicines, firewood, construction materials, remained unorganized. J. KODER observes that there is no mention of guilds dealing in milk, eggs, fruits and vegetables in the *Book of the Eparch* and, not surprisingly, he attributes the omission to the fact that these goods were marketed in public *fora* without the intermediation of any special organizations. *Επαγγέλματα σχετικά με τον ἐπισιτισμό στο Επαρχικό Βιβλίο*, in *Η καθημερινή ζωή στο Βυζάντιο, Α' Διεθνές Συμπόσιο*, Athens 1989, 366. This finding supports the contention that the guild system was confined only to activities the state was keenly interested in keeping a check on, and that the regulatory system was not as pervasive as has been thought.

(65) An incomplete list of over fifty crafts are enumerated in *B.* 54.6.6 and *BE*, 22. 1. For additional unregulated crafts and trades, see Ph. KOUKOULES, *Βυζαντινῶν Βίος καὶ Πολιτισμός*, Athens 1948, B, I, pp. 179-243. Important industries located in the capital and its outskirts, e.g., metalworking, woodworking, glassmaking, woolen and linen, pottery, grain milling, operated outside the guild organizational structure.

authorities had no particular interest in regulating their activities : their large number, diverse activities, and small scale of operations would have rendered their supervision unmanageable ; their trades did not involve prohibited articles ; they operated in a highly competitive environment ; and they were subject to the common law for reprehensible business practices (66). Hence, their compulsory induction into countless guilds would have served no useful purpose and would have been impractical. On the other hand, it is inconceivable that economic activities the state was keen in regulating would have been omitted from the compilation of edicts included in the *Book of the Eparch.* In short, there were many crafts and trades, spanning a cross-section of economic endeavors, whose practice did not require their enrollment into the capital's guild organizational structure.

The view is also held that, in addition to the capital, guilds were active in the provinces as well (67). Yet, most provincial towns were small and

(66) See n. 56 above.

(67) STOECKLE, *Byzantinische Zuenfte*, p. 3 ; CHRISTOPHILOPOULOS, *Συντεχνίαι*, pp. 4 n. 2, 37-38 ; LOPEZ, *Silk Industry*, p. 23 n. 2 ; P. CHARANIS, *On the Social Structure and Economic Organization of the Byzantine Empire in the Thirteenth Century and Later*, in *Bsl*, 12 (1951), p. 152 ; JACOBY, *Silk in Western Byzantium*, pp. 457 and n. 25, 490-492 and n. 230, 499 ; P. TIVČEV, *Sur les cités byzantines au XI^e-XII^e siècles*, in *Byzantinobulgarica*, 1 (1962), p. 173 ; N. OIKONOMIDÈS, *Hommes d'affaires Grecs et Latins à Constantinople (XIII^e-XV^e siecles)*, Paris, 1979, pp. 111-112 ; A. E. LAIOU-THOMADAKIS, *The Byzantine Economy in the Mediterranean Trade System ; Thirteenth-Fifteenth Centuries*, in *DOP*, 34-35 (1980-1981), p. 209 ; P. MAGDALINO, *The Empire of Manuel I Komnenos 1143-1180*, Cambridge,1993, pp. 158, 167 ; OSTROGORSKY, *History*, p. 253 ; ANGOLD, *The Byzantine Empire*, p. 284 ; SCHREINER, *Organisation*, pp. 51-52 ; E. FRANCÈS, *La féodalité et les villes byzantines au XIII^e et au XIV^e siècles*, in *Bsl*, 16 (1955), p. 86 ; TOYNBEE, *Constantine Porphyrogenitus*, p. 41 ; A. HARVEY, *Economic expansion in the Byzantine empire 900-1200*, Cambridge, 1989, p. 158 ; A. GUILLOU, *Functionaries*, in *The Byzantines*, ed. G. CAVALLO, Chicago, 1977, p. 198 ; LITAVRIN, *Vizantijskoe obščhestvo*, p. 149. Contra : SIDERIS, *Ἱστορία*, pp. 266-267, 277, 296 n. 2 ; RUNCIMAN, *Byzantine Trade*, p. 161 ; G. MAKRIS, *Studien zur spaetbyzantinischen Schiffahrt*, Genoa, 1988, pp. 142-146. A. KAZHDAN and G. CONSTABLE point out that we do not know whether the guild system extended to the provinces : *People and Power in Byzantium*, Washington DC, 1982, p. 141. The scholarship is divided on the issue whether the guilds disappeared after the twelfth century. For a critical review of the views propounded and further evidence that the guild system gradually disintegrated from the thirteenth century onward, see MANIATIS, *The Domain of Private Guilds*, pp. 357-366.

could support only a limited number of craftsmen and traders. The few larger ones had more business establishments, but they covered a wide range of activities each with a small number of craftsmen — hardly an inviting situation that would have prompted the state to set up a nation-wide guild system based on a functional division of labor. The requisite critical mass simply was not there. Besides, as already mentioned, the state had no particular interest in controlling the activities of scores of small businessmen scattered throughout the empire. If a guild organizational structure was in force in the provinces, it surely would have been cited in the existing legislation, as has been the case in earlier times ([68]). Moreover, were the Byzantines so keen on controlling all industrial and commercial activity in the provinces through a guild system, they would have instituted an elaborate national regulatory apparatus. This would have entailed the development of a vast administrative machinery and would have to take some legal form. Yet, neither the legal texts nor the narrative sources provide such evidence. On the other hand, a passage in the Ordinance of emperor Michael VIII Palaeologos issued in the mid-thirteenth century ([69]) commands provincial civilian and military authorities to set "just" prices for necessities. The fact that the Ordinance affords regional authorities unprecedented regulatory power over the prices of staples betokens the absence of guilds in the provinces, as such regulatory function would have already been assigned to them had they been in existence. Nor does the Ordinance institute a guild organizational structure to fix and enforce just prices, apparently because this was not common practice. All in all, telling factors lead to the inference that the guild organization was confined to the capital.

The notion that the guild system was pervasive is born of the inadvertence to put in proper perspective the regulatory system. The fact that the guild system was not omnipresent, restraining or enduring, coupled with the pro-competitive thrust of the state's industrial and commercial policy, suggest that the guilds played a far less determining role in the organization and operation of the economy than ascribed to them. The regulatory regime did not interfere with the strictly technico-economic aspects of the firms' operations and managerial decisions — *pricing* in particular,

(68) *CTh*, 12.1.162 ; 12.6.29 ; 13.1.9 ; 13.5.1, 2 ; 14.3.2,5,8 ; 14.4.9,10 ; 14.7.1, 2 ; 14.8.1 ; *CJ*, 11.7.1 ; 11.9.4, 7.

(69) Cited in L. BURGMANN and P. MAGDALINO, *Michael VIII on Maladministration*, in *Fontes Minores*, VI, Frankfurt, 1984, p. 382.

thereby affording entrepreneurs ample room for initiative and independent action within a fundamentally market-oriented economic system. The fact that private enterprises operating in particular sectors were mandated to belong to a guild did not imply that they lost their freedom to manage their business as they saw fit.

Statutory Guild Monopolies and Pricing Behavior

The statutory guild organizational structure, the attendant division of labor, and the exclusive production and marketing of their wares has led to the belief that the guilds were empowered to stifle intra-guild competition and exercise unbounded monopoly pricing power (70). However, the existence of a fiat *guild* sales monopoly does not imply *ipso facto* monopolistic pricing behavior by *individual* guild members or elimination of intra-guild competition, as has been argued. A sharp distinction should be made between the exclusive right of the guild members *as a group* to be involved in a particular economic activity, and the ability of

(70) J. NICOLE, *Le Livre du Préfet*, Commentary, extract from the *Revue Générale du Droit*, 1893, Variorum Reprints, London, 1970, p. 293 ; STOECKLE, *Byzantinische Zuenfte*, pp. 99-100, 102 ; MICKWITZ, *Kartellfunktionen*, pp. 208-9, 217, 228-229, 234 ; IDEM, *Organisationsformen*, p. 73 ; IDEM, *Un problème*, pp. 25-26 ; ZORAS, *Corporazioni byzantine*, pp. 70-71, 105, 107-8 ; MACRI, *Organisation*, p. 53 ; WALTZING, *Étude historique*, 481 ; KOUKOULES, *Βυζαντινῶν Βίος*, B, I, p. 254 ; A. M. ANDRÉADÈS, *The Economic Life of the Byzantine Empire*, in N. H. BAYNES and H. St. L. B. MOSS, *Byzantium*, Oxford, 1962, pp. 57, 62-63, 66-67 ; KAZHDAN, *Derevnja*, pp. 320-21 ; IDEM, *Cechi*, p. 140 ; SIMON, *Seidenzuenfte*, pp. 24, 41-42, 44 ; LOPEZ, *Silk Industry*, pp.17-18 ; KAZHDAN and CONSTABLE, *People and Power*, p. 135 ; ANGOLD, *Byzantine 'City'*, p. 29 ; IDEM, *The Byzantine Empire*, p. 93 ; OIKONOMIDES, *Entrepreneurs*, pp.154-56 ; LITAVRIN, *Vizantijskoe obščhestvo*, p. 154. See also n. 79 below. SCHREINER, *Organisation*, p. 54, maintains that the guild system allowed the state, if necessary, to set and control prices, while RUNCIMAN, *Byzantine Trade*, p. 158, argues that "when prices and profits were not specified in the articles of the gild, the prefect could fix them according to the circumstances of the moment." Finally, A. KAZHDAN, *State, Feudal, and Private Economy in Byzantium*, in *DOP*, 47 (1993), pp. 99-100, presents a picture of a state-organized and strictly controlled private economy, asserting that, although the substructure of the Byzantine economy was based on private ownership and private enterprise, Byzantium was not a society of free private owners and producers, as the eparch of the capital and his staff were empowered to control the quality and the price of the product, as well as the conditions in the workshops, through the guild system.

individual guild members to take advantage of this prerogative and wield monopoly pricing power in the marketplace. Effective exercise of monopoly pricing requires the existence of highly concentrated market structures, collusive action by guild members with ability to set prices and enforce price discipline on fractious members to ensure compliance, closed entry into the guild, protection from external competition, and a supportive or quiescent law enforcement officialdom. These conditions were nonexistent.

The degree of market concentration is an important determining factor that defines the players' attitude and pricing behavior. The evidence points to the existence of a market structure that generally was characterized by a large number of firms ([71]), a wide range of enterprise sizes ([72]), designation of narrowly bounded marketplaces, and a regulated albeit virtually unimpeded entry of firms ([73]), conditions reflecting an atomistic market structure that fostered a competitive attitude and a potent interseller and inter-buyer rivalry among guild members. Express or tacit agreements leading to monopoly situations and price-fixing were illegal and largely unenforceable ([74]), while the threat of economic exploitation

(71) Although the *Book of the Eparch* alludes only to several (*BE*, 6. 4 ; 14. 1, 2 ; 16. 3 ; 17. 4 ; 19. 1), apparently most guilds had large membership and more than one chief. Cf. STOECKLE, *Byzantinische Zuenfte*, p. 79 ; CHRISTOPHILOPOULOS, *Συντεχνίαι* , p. 49. Indeed, only one trade guild had one chief (*BE*, 5. 1).

(72) The fact that guild members in several important trades contributed to a fund according to their means for the collective purchase of imports (see n. 80 below), the existence of members who were unable to procure wholesale and had to buy retail from importers (*BE*, 6. 9 ; 7. 2, 4, 5), and the absence of any restrictions on enterprise scale of operations, attest to a varying financial strength of the membership and the concomitant asymmetric size distribution of firms. The view therefore expressed by C. MANGO, *Byzantium, the Empire of New Rome*, London, 1980, p. 56, that the guild system was designed to discourage private initiative and enrichment is not borne out.

(73) See n. 33 above.

(74) See above pp. 407-410 and n. 18. Market dominance could also be attained if the members of the guilds could enter into a formal overt or covert agreement covering every transaction, setting uniform prices or sales quotas, and driving all-or-nothing deals. To be effective, however, collusive agreements presuppose enforceable schemes to restrict sales and maintain prices, ability to discipline fractious members, and consent or acquiescence of the overseeing chiefs and, by extension, of higher level authorities. Yet, it would have been extremely difficult to put into practice and sustain such schemes because they are not

and decimation of an aggrieved guild through underhanded practices would most certainly invite the memberships' forceful reaction in the face of high stakes and elicit state intervention. A similar reaction and response would be expected in the case of aggrieved consumers. Even securing a purchase monopsony did not by itself guarantee sales monopoly pricing power in a market structure featuring low or negligible concentration and lack of opportunity for concerted action. As long as guildsmen were free to set their own prices, as they were, intra-guild competition could not be thwarted. The prevalent thinking points to the "fallacy of division", since what is true for the entire guild membership as a class is not necessarily true for each member of the class.

The alleged guild monopoly and price-fixing power is predicated on the implicit, but unwarranted, assumption that the guilds formed a monolithic bloc of like-minded businessmen who acted on command, in unison or in conformity with internal regulations entailing disciplinary action for noncompliance, and the explicit, but unsupported, view that one of the purposes for instituting the guild system and the provisions of the *Book of the Eparch* was to limit *price competition* among the members of the same guild ([75]). But in contrast to the practice in the West from which these notions derive, the Byzantine guild system did not (and could

durable. Collusive agreements tend to be fragile and often break down even in highly concentrated markets, because antagonistic tendencies among rival members lead to deviations from perfectly collusive behavior. Typically, some members will soon find that different selling or buying prices are more profitable to them, as cost structures and market shares vary among firms. Unequal financial strength among guild members tends to undermine the cohesiveness of the group, as weaker members have a lower threshold of compliance and a stronger incentive to cheat, particularly during depressed business conditions. Setting high prices encourages secret price cuts in the form of special concessions, discounts or rebates, prompts defections, and invites new entry. For the same reasons, informal devices, such as price leadership, are unlikely to be sustained, especially in a multi-player setting. The uncertainty surrounding explicit or tacit cooperative actions and, in particular, the difficulty in keeping these agreements from collapsing increase with the number of establishments in the group, to the point that such arrangements before long become unmanageable. Furthermore, conspiratorial actions would have prompted the authorities to crack down on violators whether *ipso jure* or at the urge of the aggrieved parties. All in all, internal and external pressures in contestable markets tend to undermine the effectiveness of collusive arrangements.

(75) MICKWITZ, *Kartellfunktionen*, p. 229 ; LOPEZ, *Silk Industry*, p. 18 ; LITAVRIN, *Vizantijskoe obščhestvo*, p. 154.

not) aim to raise or maintain prices through concerted action among guild members, since such conduct ran counter to the anti-monopoly tenor of the law. The *Book of the Eparch* did not impose price discipline on guild members to the end of thwarting intra-guild competition and protect the individual members' shares in the total business. Neither were prices or profit margins fixed at the manufacturing or distribution stages of the productive process. Profit margins were set only for a few necessities and only at the retail level, which implied that the wholesale price structure of these consumer goods was allowed to reflect market conditions. There were no external or internal regulations aiming at ensuring uniformity in the scale of operations of individual industrial enterprises or the amount of output to be produced ([76]). New entry into an industry or trade was not legally impeded, suggesting ample opportunities to augment the ranks of the guilds. There were no import controls to shield domestic producers from external competition. The exit of inefficient firms under normal competitive conditions was not hindered. Nor were the regulations designed to protect guild members from the competition of unorganized craftsmen and noble owners of workshops, as has been argued ([77]). Such

(76) Therefore, there is no substance to the view that the guild system forestalled the crises of overproduction : ZORAS, *Corporazioni bizantine*, p. 103 ; MACRI, *Organisation*, p. 60 ; ANDRÉADÈS, *Economic Life*, p. 63; R. GUERDAN, *Byzantium, its Triumph and Tragedy*, New York, 1957, p. 97.

(77) MICKWITZ, *Kartellfunktionen*, pp. 228-231, 234 ; KAZHDAN and CONSTABLE, *People and Power*, p. 31 ; A. P. KAZHDAN and A. WHARTON EPSTEIN, *Change in Byzantine Culture in the Eleventh and Twelfth Centuries*, Berkeley. 1985, p. 22 ; A. KAZHDAN and A. CUTLER, *Continuity and Discontinuity in Byzantium*, in *Byz.*, 52 (1982), pp. 473-474 ; KAZHDAN, *Derevnja*, pp. 319-320, 323, 331, 334-336, 344 ; IDEM, *Cechi*, pp. 138-139, 144, 146, 153 ; SJUZJUMOV, *Remeslo*, p. 24 ; FRANCÈS, *L'État*, pp. 239-241 ; LOPEZ, *Silk Industry*, pp. 15-16, 20, 23 ; L. BRÉHIER, *Les institutions de l'empire byzantin*, Paris, 1949, pp. 458-459 ; A. ANDRÉADÈS, *Byzance, paradis du monopole et du privilege*, in *Byz.*, 9 (1934), p. 172 ; LITAVRIN, *Vizantijskoe obščhestvo*, pp.150, 154 ; *ODB*, s.v. Guilds. By the same token, in the face of competitive pressures or a downturn of the business activity, the guild system could not have safeguarded against unemployment, as has been alleged : ANDRÉADÈS, *Ibid.*, pp. 172-173. On the other hand, the 10% import duty (imports of raw silk were exempted — *BE*, 6. 5) had a fiscal purpose — to raise revenue, not to protect guild members and the domestic industry from external competition. Besides, even this nominal rate was waived for the Venitian exporters by the eleventh century, and sharply reduced for the other Latins by the twelfth century. OSTROGORSKY, *History*, pp. 359, 367, 379 ; OIKONOMIDÈS, *Entrepreneurs*, p. 164.

groups could legitimately practice a craft or trade by joining the ranks of the guilds and freely competing within the guild organizational structure. In short, the prevailing market structures, inability of a guild's members to cross functional boundaries and take over another guild's activities, the institutional setup, open trade policy, lack of control over the imperial government, and economic self-interest were potent countervailing forces, which tended to deter collusive behavior and foster a pro-competitive rather than cooperative attitude among guild members. Contrary to what has been asserted ([78]), guild members could ill-afford to become lax and complacent or feel secure under the guild umbrella, because they were not immune from competition as the guilds did not act as stewards of the business interests of the guildsmen. On the whole, the authorities refrained from controlling the price and quality of inputs and outputs, skill supply, wages, and, in general, from micromanaging the firms' operations. Rather, they opted for outcomes attained through the competitive process and the dynamic interaction of the market forces ([79]).

(78) N. OIKONOMIDÈS, *Le marshand byzantin des provinces (IX^e-XI^e S.)*, in *Mercati e mercanti nell'alto medioevo : L'area euroasiatica e l'area mediterranea. Setimana di Studio del Centro Italiano sull'Alto Medioevo, 23-29 Aprile 1992*, Spoleto, 1993, p. 658 ; IDEM, *Entrepreneurs*, pp. 156-157 ; KAZHDAN and CONSTABLE, *People and Power*, p. 48.

(79) Failure to put the regulatory regime in proper perspective gave rise to the unsupported notion that the guilds controlled every aspect of the economic activity in the capital and the provinces and led to sweeping, albeit unfounded, pronouncements about far-reaching price controls and a fettered economy : "L'État se mêle du tout ; il contrôle tout ... il réglemente tout. Tel produit doit être vendu... à tel ou tel prix" : NICOLE, *Le Livre du Préfet*, p. 293 ; "From the moment [the imported items] come into the hands of the guilds, the government makes decisions about them, about their processing, their price, and their sale" : STOECKLE, *Byzantinische Zuenfte*, p. 99 ; "One was not permitted to fix one's own prices wages were not fixed by bargaining but by the decision of the prefect" ; "There was no economic freedom in Byzantium, everything was regulated. Here the true socialist city was in being before Karl Marx and Lenin" : GUERDAN, *Byzantium*, pp. 88, 93, 95 ; "Free trade and free production were unknown in the Byzantine empire" ; A. A. VASILIEV, *History of the Byzantine Empire*, Madison, Wisconsin, 1958, I, p. 344 ; "The State fixed the quantity of purchases, the quality of manufacture, prices, and wage-rates" : Ch. DIEHL, *Byzantium : Greatness and Decline*, Rutgers University Press, 1957, p. 89 ; "Le préfet protégeait les corporations contre tout concurrence ... il fixait...les prix aux quelle elles devaient vendre" : ANDRÉADÈS, *Byzance*, pp. 172-173 ; "The State ... controlled everything ... it fixed ... the price for the sale of every product ..." : J. W. THOMPSON, *An Economic and Social History of the Middle Ages*, New York, 1928, p. 336 n. 1 ;

Fiat Guild Import Monopsony and Pricing Power

The state authorities felt that they could take advantage of the capital's importance as an international trading center and the large volume of imports to obtain more favorable prices. To this end, guild members in several important trades were enjoined to contribute to a fund according to their means in order to purchase collectively the imported goods at the *mitata*, which were then allocated among them in proportion to their respective contributions ([80]). These statutorily mandated purchases at designated market days reflected the authorities' belief that the exercise of

"L'éparque et ses fonctionnaires fixaient les prix des merchandises,..." : M. V. LEVTCHENKO, *Byzance : Dès origines à 1453*, Paris, 1949, p. 170 ; "The guilds...doubtless originated as organs for the self-defense of their members by restricting entry..., fixing prices..." : R. BROWNING, *The Byzantine Empire*, London, 1980, p. 79 ; "The control exercised by the eparch was far-reaching in the extreme ... the government regulated the amount of goods to be bought, supervised their quality and fixed a buying and market price." : OSTROGORSKY, *History*, pp. 253-54 ; "Guilds regulated... the quality and volume of production, prices of goods and salary of the Misthioi" : *ODB*, s.v. Guilds ; "It was his [Prefect' s] province to superintend all the commercial activities of the City, fixing prices, wages, and hours of labour" : RUNCIMAN, *Byzantine Civilization*, pp. 101, 175, 188 ; "The state...checked the quality of products, the size of workshops (ergasteria), ... and market prices" : KAZHDAN and WHARTON EPSTEIN, *Change in Byzantine Culture*, p. 22 ; "Intra-guild competition was regulated in particular detail." : KAZHDAN, *Derevnja*, p. 320 ; "...the gilds were in a position to exercise a large measure of control over the level of prices." : ANGOLD, *Byzantine 'City'*, p. 32 ; "The larger part of the ordinances included in the Book of the Eparch was aimed at limiting competition between guilds and also among members of the same guild" : LOPEZ, *Silk Industry*, p. 18 ; "Wherever possible, all competition — among members or from outsiders — was to be thwarted." : MICKWITZ, *Kartellfunktionen*, p. 229 ; "Depressing as the perusal of the *Book of the Prefect* must be to anyone who believes in free enterprise ..." : C. MANGO, *Byzantium, the Empire of New Rome*, London, 1980, p. 55. A. R. LEWIS, *Naval Power and Trade in the Mediterranean A.D. 500-1100*, Princeton ,1951, pp. 175-76, 245, A. R. GADOLIN, *Alexis I Comnenus and the Venetian Trade Privileges : A New Interpretation*, in *Byz.*, 50 (1980), p. 444, Ch. M. BRAND, *Did Byzantium Have a Free Market ?*, in *BF*, 26 (2000), pp. 63-72, esp. pp. 65, 67, maintain that the whole system of establishing prices in Byzantium had broken down in the eleventh and twelfth centuries. Yet, neither the state nor the guilds had ever set out to fix wholesale or retail prices in the first place. Finally, SIDERIS, *Ἱστορία*, pp. 222, 278, 294-297, characterizes the Byzantine economy as "mixed".

(80) Silks (*BE*, 5. 3) ; raw silk (*BE*, 6. 8 ; 7. 4) ; linens (*BE*, 9. 3).

quasi-monopsony power, by preventing guild members from trading individually and thereby weakening their bargaining position, would lower the price of imports, reduce the cost of inputs used in exports, and benefit the consumers. Also, guildsmen were forbidden to meet external suppliers by traveling outside the capital since, operating outside the mandatory collective purchase scheme, would undercut the effectiveness of the officially enjoined quasi-monopsony. The small number of fairly large external suppliers may also have contributed to the decision to legislate collective action to neutralize their enhanced bargaining power. In general, guild members were enjoined not to compete against each other and thereby bid up the *purchase* price of imports. Instead, they were to act in concert against the outsiders to obtain the best price ([81]).

(81) For instance, dealers in spices and dyes were directed not to outbid one another in their purchases from outside suppliers (μὴ δελεάζων τὸν ἕτερον—*BE*, 10. 1). See n. 82 below for the meaning of δελεάζειν.

It has been argued that the guild system did away with middlemen, thereby eliminating their profits and reducing prices. STOECKLE, *Byzantinische Zuenfte*, pp. 110-11 ; GEHRING, *Das Zunftwesen Constantinopels*, pp. 590 sqq. ; CHRISTOPHILOPOULOS, *Συντεχνίαι*, pp. 60, 63-64 ; ZORAS, *Corporazioni bizantine*, pp. 104-5 ; MACRI, *Organisation*, pp. 58-60 ; ANDRÉADÈS, *Economic Life*, p. 63 ; P. SHEPPARD, *Byzantium*, New York, 1966, p. 117 ; N. H. BAYNES, *The Byzantine Empire*, London, 1946, p. 215 ; GUERDAN, *Byzantium*, p. 98 ; J. LINDSAY, *Byzantium into Europe*, London, 1952, p. 158 ; T. TALBOT RICE, *Everyday Life in Byzantium*, London, 1967, p. 122. Contra : SJUZJUMOV, *Remeslo*, p. 32 ; SIDERIS, *Ἱστορία*, pp, 246 n. 6, 259. To be sure, there are provisions in the *Book of the Eparch* that appear to support this claim : direct purchase of imported silks by dignitaries (5. 4) ; procurement of sheep from far away provinces by butchers (15.3 and n. 20 above) ; prohibition of guildsmen to sell to middlemen and of outsiders to handle goods traded by guild members (2. 1 ; 4. 1 ; 5. 4 ; 9. 1 ; 11. 1 ; 12, 4 ; 16. 3) ; obligatory sale of goods produced by candlemakers in their own shop (11. 1). However, other provisions of the *Book of the Eparch* attest to mandatory intermediation : spinners could not sell yarn directly to weavers but had to sell to the dealers of raw silk who in turn sold to weavers, the latter being obliged to buy only from them (6. 14 ; 8. 8 ; and G. C. MANIATIS, *Organization, Market Structure, and Modus Operandi of the Private Silk Industry in Tenth-Century Byzantium*, in *DOP*, 53 (1999), pp. 284-291) ; weavers could not retail their wares themselves but had to sell to silk garment merchants (4. 1, 2) ; fishermen were not permitted to retail their catch, nor were fish merchants allowed to purchase directly from fishermen, but the transaction had to be effected through wholesale fish merchants (17. 3 ; and G. C. MANIATIS, *Organizational Setup and Functioning of the Fish Market in Tenth-Century Constantinople*, in *DOP*, 54 (2000), pp. 21-23) ; soapmakers had to sell the soap to retailers who belonged to the same guild, and who also had the exclusive right to handle all imports into

Where wholesale purchases took place with higher frequency (e.g., foodstuffs), or it was difficult to effect collective purchases by the entire membership because of the large number of items involved, small quantities per transaction (e.g., legumes brought into the market by farmers from the capital's immediate hinterland, hardware produced by local artisans), varying procurement schedules, unwieldy membership dispersed throughout the city, e.g., grocers (*BE*, 13. 1), or inputs (ash, dyes) used in the production of goods satisfying basic needs (soap, cloth), prices were negotiated individually and not collectively, but outbidding another member's price offer was forbidden ([82]). Again, the measure aimed at strength-

the city (12. 4, 6) ; linen merchants were authorized to handle exclusively all imports of linen (9. 1 ; 13. 1). Still, other provisions of the *Book of the Eparch* allowed sheep merchants to transact business in the capital through middlemen (15. 4 and n. 20 above) ; linen merchants and grocers were entitled to a commission for their services when they mediated barters involving other trades (9. 6) ; grocers *de facto* handled a great variety of goods serving as middlemen : buying from producers and craftsmen and selling to consumers. Even in retail trades organized into guilds, e.g., bread, wine meat, guildsmen were handling only the retail end, while independent wholesalers acted as middlemen between them and the producers of grain and wine and livestock breeders. Of course, there were no restrictions on middlemen in industries and trades operating outside the guild organizational structure in the capital (see ns. 64 and 65 above), and certainly not in the provinces where guilds were nonexistent. For instance, provision *B*.53.6.7 stipulates that fishermen cannot be forced to bring their catch to towns and sell it there themselves, but they have the right to dispose of it through third parties (Οἱ ἁλιεῖς οὐκ ἀναγκάζονται τὰ εἴδη φέρειν εἰς τὰς πόλεις καὶ δι' ἑαυτῶν πιπράσκειν, ἀλλ' ἄδειαν ἔχουσιν ἑτέροις αὐτὰ μεταδιδόναι). In effect, the provision prohibits local authorities from compelling fishermen to alter their apparently long-standing practice of selling their catch through middlemen. In light of these observations, the state's policy vis-a-vis middlemen in the guild-organized trades is not clear-cut. Apparently, the policy aim was to do away with middlemen and their speculative bent in particular necessities or safeguard the guilds' prerogatives. But, in certain instances specified by law, the involvement of middlemen was justified in the expectation that it would foster competitive pricing behavior, or provide an outlet, save trips to the marketplace, eliminate marketing risks, or satisfy the quest for security of particular groups which may not have the ability, skills, or time to market directly their wares (e.g., sheepmen fishermen).

(82) *BE*, 10. 2 and n. 34 above ; 12. 5 ; 13. 3 . The text of provision *BE*, 12. 5 has been misinterpreted. The passage : Ὁ φωραθεὶς [σαπωνοπράτης] δελεάζων ἕτερον εἰς ἐξώνησιν στάκτης ζημιούσθω νομίσματα δώδεκα, has been translated : any [soapmaker] caught *defrauding* another in the purchase of ash, shall be fined twelve *nomismata* : Boak, *The Book of the Prefect*, p. 613 ;

ening the negotiating position of the buyers vis-a-vis *outside* suppliers and thereby obtain the lowest possible price. However, no such prohibition existed when purchases were made in the *domestic* market by producers or retailers of luxury, semi-luxury, or basic goods, e.g., silk yarn, silks, linens, spices, perfumes, woolens, shoes, building materials. In this instance, sellers and buyers were free to negotiate at their discretion — intense competition was encouraged.

Capping of Profit Margins in Retail Sales of Necessities

The Book of the Eparch did not fix *prices* for any commodity at the production or distribution stages of the production process; it only set maximum *profit margins* at the retail end for a limited number of staple articles handled by the guilds and only in the capital. This was quite a progressive pricing policy since profit capping ([83]), though intrusive, was inappreciably disruptive of the functioning of the market mechanism and the price formation process than outright price fixing. Clearly, fixing profit margins is not tantamount to fixing prices ([84]). The reason is that the wholesale price structure of the consumer goods involved — the bedrock for retail price formation — was allowed to reflect the prevailing demand and supply conditions as well as prospective price movements. Besides, setting profit margins did not preclude price competition as vendors

FRESHFIELD, *Roman Law*, p. 34 ; KODER, *Eparchenbuch*, p. 117. The rendition is incorrect, and fails to express the intention of the legislator. Besides, in transactions involving purchases it is hardly possible to defraud a fellow guildsman. What the provision intends to convey is that : anyone caught *challenging*, i.e. *outbidding* the price offered by another member of the soapmakers' guild in the purchase of ash will be fined twelve *nomismata*. The thrust of the operative word δελεάζειν is *to challenge*, and in this context to *bid up* the price, possibly through unconventional means — not to cheat one another. This is quite clear in provision *BE*, 13. 3 pertaining to the grocers, which reads : Εἴ τις σαλδαμάριος φωραθῇ δελεάζων τὸν ἕτερον ἐν τῇ ἐξωνήσει καὶ ἐπαύξων τὸ τίμημα, ζημιούσθω νομίσματα δέκα. In this passage, the price rise as a result of outbidding is explicitly mentioned.

(83) FRESHFIELD, *Roman Law*, pp. XVIII, without comment maintains that profits were capped on all trades, probably periodically. This viewpoint has no foundation, as it is very unlikely that the *Book of the Eparch* would have remained silent on such an important issue.

(84) Failure to appreciate the all-important difference between setting profit margins and price-fixing has led to unsupported statements about wide-ranging price controls. See n. 79 above.

might be inclined to accept lower than the maximum allowed margins in order to increase sales volume, aiming to maximize total, instead of unit, profits. Also, the cost structure of individual sellers varied, and this implied that the fixed profit margin was calculated on a differing cost basis. As a result, lower cost sellers could undersell higher cost ones and thereby increase their sales volume. Indeed, this pricing policy, far from stifling private initiative, tended to foster a competitive spirit, as it provided an incentive to try and capture a larger share of the market and thereby enhance total profits. For an increase in sales not only broadens the basis on which markups are calculated, but also reduces the unit cost of sales by spreading overhead costs over a greater number of units. On the other hand, neither price stability nor control of profit *levels* can be achieved by fixing profit margins in times of demand/supply imbalances, as has been argued ([85]). For retail prices remain stable only as long as wholesale prices remain unchanged since the latter are determined by market forces ; and when wholesale prices rise, the profits of the retailers increase as well, because the demand for necessities is inelastic and the fixed margins are calculated on a higher cost basis resulting in higher retail prices.

Still, misreading of the relevant provisions of the *Book of the Eparch* has led to the view that the *prices* of bread, wine, meat and fish were *fixed* by the eparch ([86]). Concerning the price of *bread,* provision *BE*, 18.1

(85) LITAVRIN, *Vizantijskoe obščhestvo*, pp. 142-143, 145, 147-148 ; HARVEY, *Economic expansion*, p. 203 ; ANGOLD, *The Byzantine Empire*, p. 93 ; *ODB,* s.v. Profit ; G. DAGRON, *'Ainsi rien n'échappera à la réglementation'*, in KRAVARI *et al.*, *Hommes et richesses*, pp. 171-172 ; THOMPSON, *Middle Ages*, p. 337 ; KAZHDAN, *Derevnya*, pp. 320-321, 330, 344-345 ; IDEM, *Cechi*, pp. 149, 154 ; MORRISSON and CHEYNET, *Prices and Wages*, p. 858 ; A. E. LAIOU, *Economic and Non-economic Exchange*, in *The Economic History of Byzantium*, II, pp. 735-736. See also n. 72 above.

(86) NICOLE, *Livre du Préfet*, pp.182, 188-190, 192 ; IDEM, *Notices*, pp. 90, 100 ; STOECKLE, *Byzantinische Zuenfte*, pp. 80-81, 99-102 ; MICKWITZ, *Kartellfunktionen*, pp. 213, 217-223 ; FRESHFIELD, *Roman Law*, pp. xx, 38, 41, 43 ; BOAK, *The Book of the Prefect*, pp. 598, 615-17 ; KODER, *Eparchenbuch*, pp. 122-131 ; ZORAS, *Corporazioni bizantine*, pp. 58, 70-71, 105, 107-8 ; MACRI, *Organisation*, pp. 41, 61, 71, 79, 87 ; CHRISTOPHILOPOULOS, *Συντεχνίαι*, pp. 60-61 ; SIDERIS, *'Ιστορία*, pp. 265, 271 ; G. I. BRATIANU, *La question de l'approvisionnement de Constantinople à l'epoque byzantine et ottomane*, in *Byz.*, 5 (1929-1930), pp. 91-92 ; IDEM, *Une expérience d'économie dirigée. Le monopole du blé à Byzance au XI^e siècle*, in *Byz.*, 9 (1934), p. 653 ; ANDRÉADÈS, *Economic Life*, pp. 57, 66 ; TOYNBEE, *Constantine Porphyrogenitus*, p. 205 ; KAZHDAN,

establishes that the bakers shall buy wheat by the *nomisma*, their profit shall be based on the purchase price of wheat, and their net profit shall amount to one *keration* on the *nomisma*. The stipulation that purchases were to be made "by the *nomisma*" is a recognition of the fact that the *quantity* of wheat the *nomisma* could buy each market day, and by extension the market *price* of the wheat, may vary. Indeed, provision *BE*, 18. 4 stipulates that, whenever there is a change in the market price of the wheat, the bakers are to go to the eparch, who will direct the assessor (σύμπονος) to adjust the weight of the loaves to reflect the change in price ([87]). Certainly, this *adjustment* process does not imply that the assessor "fixed" the price of the bread, since the buyer felt the impact of the change in the price of the wheat by getting a smaller or a larger loaf of bread at the same price. In other words, the price changes of the wheat were passed on to the consumer.

Provision *BE*, 18.1 has also been misinterpreted as regards the source of procurement and the price of *wheat*: αὐτοὶ [ἀρτοποιοὶ] μὲν νομίσματος ἑνὸς σῖτον ἐξωνούμενοι τὸν ἁρμόζοντα ἐν τῷ συμπόνῳ τούτων. The view held among most scholars is that the bakers bought the wheat at the warehouse of the assessor by the *nomisma* ([88]) and at the

Cechi, p. 150 ; IDEM, *Derevnja*, p. 321 ; KAZHDAN and WHARTON EPSTEIN, *Change in Byzantine Culture*, p. 22 ; BAYNES, *The Byzantine Empire*, p. 216 ; THOMPSON, *Middle Ages*, p. 337 ; LITAVRIN, *Vizantijskoe obščhestvo*, p. 145-146 ; RUNCIMAN, *Byzantine Trade*, p. 157 ; IDEM, *Byzantine Civilization*, p. 175 ; GUERDAN, *Byzantium*, p. 93 ; ANTONIADIS-BIBICOU, *Salaires et prix*, pp. 238-240 ; ANGOLD, *The Byzantine Empire*, p. 93 ; J. DURLIAT, *L'approvisionnement de Constantinople*, in C. MANGO and G. DAGRON, ed., *Constantinople and its Hinterland*, Ashgate, 1995, pp. 29 n. 54, 30-32 ; KODER, *'Επαγγέλματα*, pp. 368, 370. Contra : SJUZJUMOV, *Remeslo*, pp. 30-31, 36.

(87) By this method, the price of the loaf of bread remained constant but the weight varied with the wholesale purchase price of the wheat. The authorities perhaps thought that, psychologically, consumers would find it more acceptable to get a smaller loaf at the same price rather than pay a higher price for a loaf of the same size. Still the lack of small enough coin denominations to allow for minor price changes seems to be a more plausible explanation for reflecting the impact of fluctuations in the price of wheat on the size of the loaf rather than its price.

(88) NICOLE, *Livre du Préfet*, pp. 182 and n. 2, 183, 189, IDEM, *Notices*, pp. 97-100, FRESHFIELD, *Roman Law*, pp. 38, 42, LITAVRIN, *Vizantijskoe obščhestvo*, p. 142, and HARVEY, *Economic expansion*, p. 204, all interpret "by the *nomisma*" in provisions *BE*, 15. 1, 5 and 18. 1 as implying a sales tax on the purchased wheat and livestock. The notion of a sales tax is rejected (correctly) by W.

price *he* set ([89]). However, the admittedly convoluted passage should be read in conjunction with provision *BE,* 18. 4 and rendered : the bakers shall purchase wheat by the *nomisma* in the open market ; but they must report to the assessor any change in the market price so that he may adjust the weight of the loaves accordingly ([90]). The tenor of provision *BE,* 18. 4 clearly suggests that purchases were made in the free market. For it would make no sense for bakers to report to the eparch each time there was a change in the price of wheat had they been buying it at the assessor's warehouse on a regular basis and at prices he fixed. Besides, wheat was traded freely in the capital, and there was no state monopoly in the grain trade ([91]). Contrary to the assertion that by the eleventh century the

KUBITCHEK, *Zum ἐπαρχικόν βιβλίον*, in *Numismatische Zeitschrift*, 4 (1911), p. 189, and MICKWITZ, *Kartellfunktionen*, p. 213 n. 3. The thrust of the provisions referred to hardly connotes the levy of a tax. On the other hand, TOYNBEE, *Constantine Porphyrogenitus*, p. 42, believes that the provision meant that the bakers might not buy more than one *nomisma*' s worth of grain at a time, a view which is strained.

(89) See n. 86 above. In provision *BE*, 18.1 : the bakers purchase the wheat from their assessor (τῷ συμπόνῳ τούτων), the word τούτων has been rightly corrected by KODER, *Eparchenbuch*, p. 128, into τοῦτον, which refers to the purchased wheat (σῖτον) and not to the assessor.

(90) SJUZJUMOV, *Remeslo*, pp. 35-36, argues that the expression ἐν τῷ συμπόνῳ in provision *BE*, 18. 1 should be translated not *from* the assessor but *in the presence* of the assessor, a view also accepted by LITAVRIN, *Vizantijskoe obščestvo*, pp.145-46. SJUZJUMOV is right in pointing out that the rendition "from the assessor" is infelicitous. However, if purchases were made "in the presence of the assessor", as he maintains, it would make no sense to have the bakers *report* to him any changes in the price of the wheat as required by provision *BE*, 18. 4, since he was already aware of them.

(91) Several scholars maintain that during the tenth century the grain imported into the capital by private merchants was purchased by the state, stored in warehouses, and sold to the bakers through the assessor at a fixed price. BRATIANU, *Approvisionnement*, pp. 91-94 ; MACRI, *Organisation*, pp. 23, 71 ; GUERDAN, *Byzantium*, p. 104 ; DURLIAT, *Approvisionnement*, pp. 22, 29 and n. 54, 30-32. However, other authors maintain, convincingly, that in normal years wheat was purchased on the free market and at going prices ; that there was no organized provisioning on a massive scale as in earlier times ; and that the state did not monopolize the wheat trade – except for the incident of Raidestos (see n. 95 below). M. ATTALEIATES, *Ἱστορία*, text and annotated modern Greek translation by I. D. POLEMIS, Athens 1997, pp. 352-356 ; SIDERIS, *Ἱστορία*, p. 264 and n. 2 ; ANDRÉADÈS, *Byzance*, pp. 177-178 ; SJUZJUMOV, *Remeslo*, p. 36 ; C. MANGO, *Le développement urbaine de Constantinople (IV^e^-VII^e^ siècles)*, Paris, 1985, p. 54 ; P. MAGDALINO, *The Grain Supply of Constantinople, Ninth-Twelfth Centuries*, in

state's grain monopoly had been discontinued and the relevant provisions of the *Book of the Eparch* had been abolished or fallen into desuetude (92), the bakers at no time were obligated to buy wheat at the assessor's warehouse, except in times of shortage when the authorities sold grain from the state granary to prevent sharp retail price hikes (93). There is no evidence that the grain trade was subject to any state regulations (94), with the exception of the episode of Raidestos (95). The existence of an imperial

Constantinople and its Hinterland, eds. MANGO and DAGRON, pp. 40-45. See also n. 93 below.

(92) BRATIANU, *Monopole du blé*, p. 645 ; IDEM, *Approvisionnement*, pp. 92-94.

(93) The state, at least up to the first two centuries of the second millennium, maintained a granary in the capital, where it stored wheat as a reserve for emergencies, e.g., crop failures, sieges, disruption of trade. BRATIANU, *Monopole du blé*, p. 653 ; IDEM, *Approvisionnement*, p. 91 ; MANGO, *Développement urbaine*, p. 55 ; J. HALDON, *Comes Horreorum — Komes tes Lamias*, in *BMGS*, 10 (1986), p. 204 ; KAZHDAN, *Cechi*, p. 150. Assuredly, when there was threat of famine, the state did not hesitate to make forced purchases in the provinces, or even from Latin traders, at prices it determined. Cf. R. JANIN, *Un ministre byzantin, Jean l'Orphanotrophe*, in *Échos d'Orient*, 30 (1931), p. 438 ; G. I. BRATIANU, *Nouvelles contributions à l'étude de l'approvisionnement de Constantinople sous les Paléologues et les empereurs ottomans*, in *Byz.* , 6 (1931), pp. 643-644 ; IDEM, *Approvisionnement*, pp. 93-94 ; J. LAURENT, *Skylitzès et Nicéphore Phocas*, in *BZ*, 6 (1897), pp. 318-21 ; HARVEY, *Economic Expansion*, p. 138 ; J. CHRYSOSTOMIDES, *Venetian Commercial Privileges under the Palaeologoi*, in *Studi Veneziani*, 12 (1970), p. 327. But "general shortages affecting Constantinople itself were rare indeed" : J. L. TEALL, *The Grain Supply of the Byzantine Empire, 330-1025*, in *DOP*, 13 (1959), p. 114 n. 142.

(94) HARVEY, *Economic Expansion*, pp. 236-38 ; IDEM, *The middle Byzantine economy : growth or stagnation ?* , in *BMGS*, 19 (1955), p. 258 ; TEALL, *Grain Supply*, pp. 122-126 ; IDEM, *The Byzantine Agricultural Tradition*, in *DOP*, 25 (1971), p. 55. Contra : KAZHDAN, *Cechi*, p. 150. M. F. HENDY, *'Byzantium, 1081-1204' : The Economy Revisited, Twenty Years On*, in IDEM, *The Economy, Fiscal Administration and Coinage of Byzantium*, Northampton, 1989, Variorum Reprints, III, p. 19, maintains that, though in private hands, trade was very strictly regulated.

(95) The government attempted to regulate the previously free grain trade by creating a purchase and sale state monopoly in Raidestos during the reign of Michael Dukas VII (1071-1078). The decision led to abuses and shortages and resulted in inordinate price increases. The monopoly was short-lived and the *status quo ante* was restored. On this adventure, see ATTALEIATES, *Ἱστορία*, pp. 352-356 ; BRATIANU, *Monopole du blé*, pp. 643-662 ; P. LEMERLE, *Cinque études sur le XI^e siècle byzantin*, Paris, 1977, pp. 301-302 and n. 112 ; CHEYNET *et al.*, *Prix et salaires*, pp. 363-366 ; MAGDALINO, *Grain Supply*, pp. 39-43.

granary and officials in the capital in itself is not a reliable indication of state involvement in the grain trade (96). The movement of grain from the provinces to the capital had long been a commercial process since, by the tenth century, the formal role of the state had been reduced considerably when is compared with that in the late Roman empire. Commercial transactions were carried out without any state interference (97). From the twelfth century onward, the bulk of the grain imports to the capital was handled by merchants from the three Italian trading republics — Venice, Genoa and Pisa (98). A state whose authority had been emasculated could hardly exercise effective control over the defiant Latins on trade movements dictated by market forces. To be sure, prompted by concern to keep the price of wheat low in times of scarcity, agreements were made between the Byzantine emperors and the Italian cities in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, whereby exports of wheat were prohibited when the price exceeded a predetermined level (99). Nevertheless, the Latins, as well as imperial officials and big landlords, brazenly violated these pacts and state regulation proved ineffective (100). The rapid territorial disintegration of the Byzantine empire and the diminished authority of the central government after the 1320s made it virtually impossible for the emperors to introduce and enforce regulations even inside the capital.

As in the case of the bakers, when *wine* was imported into the capital, the chiefs of the innkeepers' guild reported to the eparch the purchase price, and the assessor adjusted the measures and jars the innkeepers used

(96) MANGO, *Développement urbaine*, pp. 54-55 ; HALDON, *Comes Horreorum*, pp. 203-209 ; MAGDALINO, *Grain Supply*, p. 37. See also n. 93 above.

(97) ATTALEIATES, *Ἱστορία*, pp. 277-278, 352-356 ; MAGDALINO, *Grain Supply*, pp. 37, 43-46.

(98) HENDY, *Studies*, p. 601 ; LAÏOU-THOMADAKIS, *The Byzantine Economy*, pp. 183-184, 194-195.

(99) F. B. PEGOLOTTI, *La pratica della mercatura*, ed. A. EVANS, Cambridge, 1936, pp. 41-42 ; CHRYSOSTOMIDES, *Venetian Commercial Privileges*, pp. 272, 312-329 ; LAÏOU-THOMADAKIS, *The Byzantine Economy*, pp. 213-215 ; A. E. LAÏOU, *Constantinople and the Latins. The Foreign Policy of Andronicus II - 1282-1328*, Cambridge, 1972, pp. 57-65.

(100) CHRYSOSTOMIDES, *Venetian Commercial Privileges*, pp. 314-315 ; LAÏOU, *Constantinople and the Latins*, pp. 64, 72-73. Since 1282, the Venetian government guaranteed traders higher than free market prices to ensure sufficient supplies of grain. D. JACOBY, *From Byzantium to Latin Romania*, in *Mediterranean Historical Review*, 4 (1989), p. 30. This may explain in part the unlawful exports from the capital and the breakdown of the treaties.

to retail the wine to conform with the purchase price (*BE*, 19.1). However, the *adjustment* of the measures (=quantity) did not mean that the assessor "fixed" the retail price of wine, since any change in the wholesale price of wine was passed on to the consumer. Clearly, by adjusting the quantity and keeping the price unchanged the buyer was affected. With respect to *meat*, the butchers were directed to make their wholesale purchases in the designated marketplace by the *nomisma* (*BE*, 15. 1, 5), i.e. for each *nomisma* they paid they were to procure a number of *sheep* (the *lambs* by the hundredth of the *nomisma* — *BE*, 15. 5). This implied that each market day the number of sheep bought per *nomisma* could vary depending on the prevailing market conditions ([101]). The eparch did not fix the number of sheep a *nomisma* will purchase, and by extension the price, as has been argued ([102]). The butchers, after keeping

(101) Cf. STOECKLE, *Byzantinische Zuenfte*, p. 101 ; BOAK, *The Book of the Prefect*, p. 615 n. 2 ; LITAVRIN, *Vizantijskoe obščhestvo*, p. 142. KUBITCHEK, *Zum ἐπαρχικὸν βιβλίον*, pp.189-190, mistook STOECKLE's poor choice of word (meat), thinking he meant that the consumer, not the butcher, pays one *nomisma* and receives in exchange a certain amount of *meat* according to the current price. In other words, he thought STOECKLE was referring to *retail* sales and not to *wholesale* purchases by butchers. Yet, STOECKLE explicitly states that *animals*, i.e. meat on the hoof, are sold by the *nomisma* : *Byzantinische Zuenfte*, p. 101. MICKWITZ, *Kartellfunktionen*, p. 213 n. 3, also misunderstood STOECKLE, presuming that he is referring to retail and not to wholesale trade.

(102) OSTROGORSKY, *Loehne und Preise*, p. 332 n. 3, interprets provision *BE*, 15. 5 as implying that the eparch decided each market day the number of sheep equivalent to one *nomisma*, and this determined the price at which the butchers bought the sheep from the sheep merchants. According to this interpretation, effectively the eparch fixed the price of sheep, a notion which is contrary to the policy of setting only profit margins. CHRISTOPHILOPOULOS, *Συντεχνίαι*, p. 61 n. 2, KODER, *Eparchenbuch*, pp. 123-125, TOYNBEE, *Constantine Porphyrogenitus*, pp. 55, 205, and DAGRON, *Urban Economy*, pp. 456-457, concur with this view. On the other hand, KUBITCHEK, *Zum ἐπαρχικὸν βιβλίον*, pp. 189-190, is inclined to think that, by the *nomisma*, is meant that the eparch directed the butchers to buy sheep (and pigs) at a price of one *nomisma* per head. This also is suggestive of price-fixing and is not substantiated. Finally, MICKWITZ, *Kartellfunktionen*, p. 213 n. 3, speculates that the stipulation by the *nomisma* might refer to the allocation of the collectively purchased sheep among the butchers : in proportion to each butchers's contribution to the fund, as in other instances (*BE*, 5. 3 ; 6. 8 ; 9. 3). But if the purchased goods were divided in accordance with the deposit each guild member had made to the fund prior to the purchase, a stipulation that the allocation be made by the *nomisma* would make no sense.

the parts allotted for their profit ([103]), would retail the meat on the basis of the purchase price ([104]). Finally, contrary to what has been asserted ([105]), the eparch did not fix the price of the *white fish* either (*BE*, 17. 4). In the first place, in conformity with the official policy applied to necessities, the eparch would be bound to fix *profit margins* on white fish retail sales ([106]), not their retail price. If the intention was to fix prices, the eparch would have intervened and set prices at the wholesale level, which is the foundation for establishing retail prices ; yet, he was not involved in this crucial stage of price formation. Second, to ensure fairness, prices had to be set with knowledge of shifting demand and supply curves and their elasticities for many different species, as well as of the cost structure of individual fish merchants — assessments the authorities were not

(103) *Epanagoge* (4. 8) and the *Basilics* (6.4.2) directed the eparch of each city to see to it that meat is sold at the just price (δικαίοις τιμήμασι). In the capital, the provision was superseded by *BE*, 15. 2, which determined the butchers' profit —- the proceeds from the sale of the feet, head and entrails. The earnings from the sale of the hides and pelts should also be added, since they are produced jointly in the process of obtaing the meat. In the provinces, the provision apparently fell into desuetude, as is evidenced by a passage in the Ordinance of Michael VII Palaeologos (see p. 425 and n. 69 above) which enjoins those occupying the highest offices to set "just" selling prices for necessities.

(104) The eparch counted and marked the sheep brought to the capital for sale (*BE*, 15. 5). This does not mean that the eparch determined how many sheep were to be put up for sale each market day, as has been argued : STOECKLE, *Byzantinische Zuenfte*, p. 100 ; BOAK, *The Book of the Prefect*, p. 615. Such action would have meant that the eparch regulated the supply of sheep and, by extension, their price. The measure probably aimed to prevent stealthy sales outside the designated market and, possibly, as LITAVRIN suggests, *Vizantijskoe obščhestvo*, p. 142, that the state had already collected the tax due on the animals.

(105) G. DAGRON, *Poisson, pêcheurs et poissonneries de Constantinople*, in MANGO and DAGRON, *Constantinople and its Hinterland*, pp. 70 and n. 65, 71 ; STOECKLE, *Byzantinische Zuenfte*, pp. 80-81, 102 ; NICOLE, *Livre du Préfet*, p. 68 ; FRESHFIELD, *Roman Law*, p. 41 ; BRATIANU, *Approvisionnement*, pp. 91-92 ; KODER, *Ἐπαγγέλματα*, p. 370 ; ZORAS, *Corporazioni bizantine*, pp. 71, 197 ; KOUKOULES, *Βυζαντινῶν Βίος*, II A, p. 192 ; HARVEY, *Economic expansion*, pp. 170-171.

(106) On all other kinds of fish, the fish merchants' profit margin was fixed by the *Book of the Eparch* at one *miliaresion* on the *nomisma* (*BE*, 17. 1). For an in depth discussion of the intriguing issues arising from the controversy whether the eparch set prices or profit margins in white fish retail sales, see MANIATIS, *Fish Market*, pp. 38-40.

in a position to make. Third, fixing the price of a perishable commodity in limited and volatile supply entailed the risk of pricing the white fish out of the market and causing artificial shortages and waste, or cutting unnecessarily and unfairly into the retailers' earnings. Finally, fixing maximum profit margins under competitive conditions effectively allowed the market forces to determine the selling price, while it introduced flexibility into a system which met the main objectives of the authorities : to ensure fair prices, avoid waste, and prevent profiteering.

The Concept of Just Price and its Applicability

In *non-commercial* transactions, the law did not allow the parties to an exchange unlimited autonomy in price determination. Abuse of a contracting party's weak position, e.g., exploitation of financial need, arose when price disproportion was patent, grossly unfair and inequitable — when the price was less than half the *just price* (δικαία τιμή, *justum pretium*) — and could lead to rescission of the contract on grounds of excessive injury (ὑπέρογκος βλάβη, *laesio enormis*) ([107]). The fact that the law could intervene and provide the disadvantaged party with a remedy in lop-sided sales contracts signaled a departure from the tenet that the price agreed upon in a contract depends solely on the judgment of the contracting parties ([108]). Nevertheless, the institution of a paternalistic notion of contractual justice was limited largely to transactions on immovables, land in particular, and aimed to protect the economically weaker members of the society, who were forced to sell their property because of dire necessity ; to contracts in the building industry ; and to deals in valuables. The concept of just price and excessive injury did not apply to commercial transactions or other movables and services.

The law stipulates that, should anyone sell a thing at an extremely low price, he can recover it provided he refunds the proceeds. An extremely low price is understood to be one which does not amount to half the *assessed* value (διατίμησις) of the thing, perceived to be the just price. However, the buyer has the option to make up the just price and retain the

(107) Οὐ δεῖ γίνεσθαί τινα πλουσιώτερον ἐκ τῆς ἑτέρου ζημίας (no one should profit from someone else's loss). *B.* 2. 3. 206 ; *Ecloga*, 2. 10 ; *Synopsis Minor*, Z. 2 ; *Hexabiblos*, Appendix B, 30.

(108) See ns. 2 and 3 above.

thing sold ([109]). It is noteworthy, that the *Basilics* define the just price in *legal* and not in *economic* terms, requiring for it to become functional that it be recast into a concrete economic form. This is all the more necessary, because the estimation of excessive damage, which sets in motion the process of restitution, is formalized as a numerical deviation from a set norm — the just price itself. But neither the *Basilics* nor other legal texts, or the jurisprudence for that matter, provide any guidance as to how the value of the thing, and by extension the just price, is to be calculated, a lacuna which in practice raises issues of interpretation and enforcement.

The tenor of the legislation suggests that the Byzantines operationalized this unwieldy concept by resorting to : (a) *fiat*, i.e. *decrees* which linked the just price to a standard of value (διατίμησις [= assessed value]), to be determined by a third party — the market forces in competitive markets (in effect being equivalent to the going market price), and local customs or designated experts in imperfect markets (e.g, in sales of land, cases of family or inheritance law) ; (b) *public law regulations,* which fixed interest rates or repayment terms on recovered property ; and (c) *ad hoc court* and *administrative* (e.g., by the eparch) decisions usually based on estimations by experts, e.g., in valuables, building contracts ([110]), or sales of landed property. Nevertheless, there were instances where sales could still be effected lawfully at prices less than half the just price, e.g., disposal of an unprofitable asset (δύνασθαι ἐπὶ συμφώνοις τισὶ πωλεῖν ἕκαστον καὶ ἥττονος τοῦ δικαίου τιμήματος) ([111]). In the absence of any guidelines, this approach suggested a sensible and practical method of estimating the just price. Moreover, in the face of the free interplay of market forces, i.e. in the absence of exercisable monopoly/monopsony power which the state was determined to curb, prices tended to reflect the prevailing market conditions and the deals struck could be viewed as fair. In this fashion, statutes intended to curb transactions in which the exchanged values were grossly disproportionate were linked with an enforcing mechanism. Also, this approach was seen as a way to balance the conflicting demands of value equivalence and certainty of the law.

(109) *B.* 19.10.66 ; *Synopsis Basilicorum*, A. 12. 19 ; *Ecloga*, 16. 30 ; *Peira*, 38. 5, 12, 52 ; ATTALEIATES, *Ponema*, 11.2 ; *Prochiron Auctum*, 15. 34, 37, 42 ; *Synopsis Minor*, Π. 93 ; *Hexabiblos*, 3. 3. 69, 71 and scholium.

(110) *BE*, 22. 1-4 ; *Hexabiblos*, 3. 8. 40-43.

(111) *Ecloga*, 16. 30 ; *Hexabiblos*, 3. 3. 73 scholium.

In *commercial* transactions, however, price determination was left entirely up to the parties to the exchange. The presumption was that under free competition the terms of the contracts would tend to be equitable, because they were the outcome of prior negotiation by the parties whose familiarity with the product(s) and the market, as well as bargaining power, were fairly matched. Besides, the pursuit of gainful opportunities is a legitimate activity, and business deals are *sui generis* setting them apart from other kinds of exchanges, in the sense that they involve risk and they may result in profits but in losses as well. As a practical matter, *B.*19.10.66 was not applicable to the heavily traded dry and perishable goods. The only exception was *valuables*, e.g., precious stones, jewelry, bullion, and old coins, which had to be appraised and traded at their "just value" (ἀποτιμᾶσθαι αὐτὰ κατὰ τὴν δικαίαν αὐτῶν ἀποτίμησιν— *BE.* 2. 2), apparently because their market value was not readily ascertainable and this made deception easy and costly to the uninformed party. Realistically, claims for rescission based on need, ignorance or negative profit (even if excessive) are insubstantial in business deals and contrary to trade practices. Also, the four-year statute of limitations for restitution is hardly in the interest of commerce, which is concerned with the speedy resolution of conflicts. Application of *B.*19.10.66 would become an impediment in the capital and other busy commercial centers of the empire, where sophisticated local traders were dealing with shrewd foreign and provincial merchants. Finally, the very fact that *de jure* it was the buyer's decision that determined the outcome of the contested contract, as well as the great variance that was allowed between the just price and the price paid before a claim could be lodged, are indicative of the strong emphasis placed on preserving the freedom of the contracting parties to set the price — which made sense in strictly business deals.

V. Concluding Observations

The distinctive characteristic of the official pricing policy in Byzantium was that, as a matter of principle, commodity prices were established by market forces under competitive conditions. The contracting parties were free to take advantage of the prevailing market conditions and their bargaining skills to arrive at a price which they deemed to be the most advantageous. Indeed, the permissible latitude in business conduct and aggressive bargaining suggest acceptance of the maxim

caveat emptor as a rule of conduct. To safeguard the smooth functioning of the market mechanism, the competitive process was shored up by a panoply of legal and other institutional arrangements aimed to frustrate anti-competitive practices, thwart price-fixing, and ensure correct business conduct — to maintain a level playing field. The state did not fix wholesale or retail prices, although it did intervene in the private sector in a manner that *potentially* could affect the process of price formation. As it turned out, the state was quite circumspect in its interventions. The impact of state controls, and in particular the role of the guilds in price formation, have been misunderstood and grossly exaggerated. The guilds and their members did not command the requisite market power to influence perceptibly the process of price formation. The impression that the guild system was ubiquitous and overwhelming and that the guilds could exercise unbounded monopoly power is stretched. The guild system did not aim to raise or maintain prices through concerted action among guild members. The law did not impose price discipline on guild members to thwart intra-guild competition and protect individual members' market shares. In reality, the guilds played a far less determining role in the organization and operation of the economy than has been attributed to them. Only establishments operating in a limited number of state designated sectors were required to be organized into guilds. A multitude of business undertakings were left outside the state's purview, as there was no reason to oversee their activities. The regulatory regime set the rules of the game but, in so doing, it did not interfere with the strictly technico-economic aspects of the firms' operations, pricing decisions in particular. Once in place, the regulatory framework provided a set of non-shifting parameters that defined clearly the rules of the game, and allowed guild members and those doing business with them to conduct their affairs with certitude, as attested by the growing economic activity in the capital over the centuries. Setting maximum profit margins at the retail end for particular staples was intrusive ; but profit capping was inappreciably disruptive of the functioning of the market mechanism and the price formation process than outright price fixing, since the wholesale price structure was allowed to reflect the prevailing demand and supply conditions. The concept of just price was applied restrictively and, as a practical matter, price determination in *commercial* transactions was left entirely up to the parties to the exchange. Finally, the notion that state intervention led to a highly regulated economy, where the price mechanism was no longer operative, or businessmen could not set their own prices, is unsubstantiated.

The Byzantines did not develop an analytical framework to explain the process of price formation. Still, common knowledge had made them aware of the positive effects of the competitive interaction of the trading parties on prices, of price instability and the underlying causes, and of the adverse impact of the concentration of economic power in a few hands on market prices. Concerned that commodity prices can be manipulated, they took impressive steps to thwart unfair business practices, establish a virtually free trade regime in both directions, maintain competitive conditions, and ensure the unimpeded functioning of the market mechanism. State intervention was minimal and circumspect in the commodity markets, as the bulk of legal provisions was *agoranomic* in character, in that they set norms of business behavior and standards for the orderly conduct of commercial transactions. Prices were never controlled, thereby providing the requisite underpinning for the development of a full-fledged market economy. The Byzantines fully appreciated the enormity of the task of having state officials set prices for countless goods and services, substituting their judgment for the market forces. Being pragmatic, they discounted the notion that the government could judge better than the market, and correctly sensed the impracticality of such a major undertaking in a complex business environment. Clearly, the long-standing notion of a shackled economy is ill-founded. In the main, the Byzantines favored market-based economic policies and solutions with just enough regulation to prevent abuse.

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QUI EST LE ROI MÉROPS CITÉ DANS LA *ΣΥΛΛΟΓΗ ΤΑΚΤΙΚΩΝ* ?

Une recherche sur un stratagème de guerre dans le monde indo-européen nous a amené à prendre connaissance de la *Συλλογὴ Ταχτικῶν*. Cet écrit anonyme, attribué erronément à Léon VI dit le Sage (1), et daté, en raison de cette attribution, du début ou du milieu du X^e^ s. (2), raconte les stratagèmes d'un certain Mérops : «Comme le même Mérops n'arrivait à aucun résultat lors d'un siège qui se prolongeait indéfiniment d'une ville de Syrie, il se réconcilia apparemment avec l'empereur à Rome et leva aussitôt le siège, après avoir promis peu après d'envoyer des ambassadeurs avec des dons. En effet ce sont deux cents fantassins cachés dans autant de corbeilles en bois qu'il fit porter par cent chameaux près des remparts de la ville qu'il venait d'assiéger et il recommanda aux prétendus ambassadeurs de prendre leur repos, le soir venu, et de forcer par des discours chatoyants et des dons somptueux le général romain qui se trouvait dans la ville d'accepter à l'intérieur de celle-ci les présents destinés à César, en vue de mieux les garder. Posté à l'arrière, Mérops suivait en personne le convoi en compagnie de son armée ; comme les choses se déroulaient de la façon prévue, Mérops s'empara de la ville. En effet, les fantassins dissimulés dans les corbeilles en sortirent au milieu de la nuit et, après avoir allumé de très grands feux et brisé facilement les portes, l'accueillirent avec joie, accompagné de l'armée entière» (3).

(1) H. HUNGER, *Die Hochsprachliche Profane Literatur der Byzantiner*, München, 1978, II, p. 333.

(2) G. OSTROGORKSY, *Histoire de l'État byzantin* (trad. fr.), Paris, 1956, p. 244, qui reprend vraisemblablement la datation proposée par R. VÁRI, *Die sogenannten «Inedita Tactica Leonis»*, dans *BZ*, 27 (1927), p. 241-270. P. LEMERLE, *Les Stratégistes byzantins*, dans *TM*, 2 (1967), p. 357, opte pour les années 1050.

(3) *Sylloge Tacticorum, quae olim «inedita Leonis Tactica» dicebatur*, éd. A. DAIN, Paris, 1938, § 77, 2, p. 118 ; trad. personnelle.

Mérops se sert également d'une ruse pour se rendre maître d'une cité de Babylonie : «Mérops, assiégeant une certaine ville de Babylonie et se croyant dans l'impossibilité de s'en emparer par la guerre conclut une trêve fallacieuse et après avoir choisi trois cents parmi l'élite de ses troupes, en fit don comme esclaves aux principales autorités de la ville, tandis que lui-même, ayant levé le siège comme si de là il retournait dans son propre pays, cacha son armée dans les fourrés avoisinants. Vers le milieu de la nuit, les trois cents, après être montés sur les remparts de la cité, appelèrent Mérops au moyen d'une torche et par les portes qu'ils avaient ouvertes, le firent pénétrer dans la cité sans risque en compagnie de toute son armée» (4).

Nous pouvons douter en un premier temps du caractère historique de la prise de ces deux villes, car la ruse pour s'emparer de la première rappelle celles que se plaît à conter le *Shahnameh* de Firdousi (5), celle pour prendre la seconde est identique à celle employée par Alaric envers Rome. Quel était l'empereur romain ou byzantin du temps — et éventuellement le général ou le gouverneur de chaque ville — qui fut victime de la fourberie de Mérops ? Quelle est cette cité de Syrie et quelle est celle de Babylonie ? Qui est ce Mérops ? D'où proviennent ces deux récits de la *Συλλογὴ Ταϰτιϰῶν* ? Telles sont les questions auxquelles nous tenterons de répondre.

1. *Empereur byzantin ou romain ?*

Si nous nous fions à la *Συλλογὴ Ταϰτιϰῶν*, la seule indication que nous pouvons exploiter consiste en l'existence d'un conquérant oriental (Babylonie, Syrie) mettant en danger l'empire romain en Orient. De quel empire romain s'agit-il, de celui qui a pour centre Rome ou Constantinople, puisque Constantinople apparaît souvent comme la Nouvelle Rome ? (6). Mais les événements relatés dans les deux chapitres analysés

(4) *Sylloge Tacticorum*, § 77, 1, p. 118 ; trad. personnelle.

(5) FIRDOUSI, *Le Livre des Rois* (trad. Fr. J. MOHL, Paris, 1865), I, p. 309-315 ; IV, p. 465-545 et V, p. 309-315. Aussi FRONTIN, *Stratagèmes*, III, 2, 8, citant le Lacédémonien Aristippe ; l'histoire du *Boroma* chez les Celtes (M. DILLON, *The Cycle of the Kings*, Univ. Kent, 1948, p. 103-115) et le Cycle de Guillaume d'Orange comme la chanson de geste française *Le Charroi de Nîmes* (vv. 1070-1402).

(6) F. DÖLGER, *Rom in der Gedankenwelt der Byzantiner*, dans *Zeitschrift für Kirchengeschichte*, n. f., 7 /56 (1937), p. 1-42 ; P. J. ALEXANDER, *The Strength of*

présentement ne cadrent pas avec des événements subis par l'empire byzantin, même si p. ex. Chosroes Ier s'est emparé de Sura et a détruit par une ruse cette ville frontière de Syrie (7), et qu'il a pris Antioche (8) ; ni Sura ni Antioche ne se trouvent en Babylonie, et à l'égard de la dernière il a agi «correctement». Procope dit d'ailleurs qu'Antioche était facile à prendre (9). De même, nous ne pensons pas que Mérops est le «pseudonyme» de Chosroes II, même si ce dernier a en quatre ans, de 604 à 608, envahi presque toute la Mésopotamie occidentale et la Syrie, l'Arménie et la Cappadoce, la Paphlagonie et la Galatie, et qu'en 611 il s'empara d'Antioche (10) ; car ces diverses conquêtes se sont faites sans stratagème. De même encore, Mérops ne peut désigner, à nos yeux, un général ou calife arabe qui de 634 à 638 a pris possession d'une grande partie du Moyen Orient, dont la Perse, la Mésopotamie, la Syrie, la Palestine (11). Il ne peut donc être question dans le texte de la *Συλλογὴ Τακτικῶν* que de l'empereur de Rome.

Comme l'État romain s'est implanté au Proche-Orient, en Syrie plus précisément, depuis 65/64 av. J.-C. (12), qu'il s'est immiscé dans les affaires de Mésopotamie depuis Crassus en 54 av. J.-C. (13), et qu'il est resté

Empire and Capital as seen through Byzantine Eyes, dans *Speculum,* 37 (1962), p. 339 sqq. ; OBERHUMMER, *Constantinopolis*, dans *RE,* 4, col. 964-968.

(7) PROCOPE, *Guerre Perse*, II, 5, 8-33. Au sujet de l'histoire de cette ville, voir E. HONIGMANN, *Sura*, dans *RE,* 2e série 4, 1, col. 957 ; sur sa position géographique, voir PLINE L'ANCIEN, *Histoire Naturelle*, V, 87.

(8) PROCOPE, *Guerre Perse,* II, 8, 8-20 et 9, 17-18 ; KEKAUMENOS, *Strategikon*, chap. 82. Cela se passe en juin 540 selon MALALAS, *Chronographia*, éd. DINDORF, *CSHB*, Bonn, 1831, p. 479-480). Voir Gl. DOWNEY, *The Persian Campaign in Syria in A.D. 540*, dans *Speculum*, 28 (1953), p. 340-348, et *Ancient Antioch*, Princeton, 1963, p. 247-255. Antioche fut occupée par les Perses une fois encore entre 611 et 628, puis fut prise par les Arabes en 637/638, mais chaque fois après des combats violents (DOWNEY, *op. cit.*,1963, p. 268-271).

(9) *Guerres Perse*, I, 17, 38.

(10) J. J. NORWICH, *Histoire de Byzance. 330-1453*, Paris, 1999 (trad. fr.), p. 110 et 112.

(11) A. A. VASILIEV, *History of the Byzantine Empire. 324-1483*, Madison, 1952, p. 211.

(12) FLAVIUS JOSÈPHE, *Antiquités Judaïques,* éd. I. BEKKER et S. A. NADER, Leipzig, 1892, p. 228 ; PLUTARQUE, *Pompée*, 39-40, et *Cato minor*, 14 ; DION CASSIUS, *Histoire Romaine*, XXXVII, 7, 5. Sur toute cette question, K. H. ZIEGLER, *Die Beziehungen zwischen Rom und dem Partherreich*, Wiesbaden, 1964, p. 20 sqq.

(13) DOWNEY, *op. cit.*, p. 74 remarque à la suite de DION CASSIUS (*Histoire Romaine*, XL, 29, 1) et de CICÉRON (*Ad familiares*, II, 10, et *Ad Atticum*, V, 21)

présent au Moyen-Orient jusqu'à la catastrophique expédition de Julien l'Apostat (14), la prise des deux cités peut dater entre le Ier s. av. J.-C. et le IVe s. apr. J.-C. (l'empereur vivant à Rome et non à Constantinople).

2. *Mérops roi parthe ou perse sassanide ?*

Serait-ce un souverain parthe ou sassanide qui a perpétré ces «coups fourrés» ? Il y a deux périodes qui ont présenté des pics dans le climat de tension qui régnait entre les Empires romain et parthe : d'abord le Ier s. apr. J.-C., depuis l'époque de Néron (15) jusqu'à l'éphémère conquête de la Mésopotamie par Trajan entre 115 et 117 (16), puis les IIIe et IVe s. apr. J.-C. (17). Toutefois, dans l'histoire de l'Orient romain, il y a un moment particulier où Babylonie et Syrie se sont trouvées menacées : c'est sous le règne de Sapor Ier.

Ce souverain Sassanide s'est emparé, parmi de nombreuses villes (18), d'Hatra en Mésopotamie orientale en 240/242 (dès le début de son

que les Parthes n'étaient pas en mesure en 51 av. J.-C. de s'emparer de la place forte d'Antioche grâce à un siège ; c'est en 40 av. J.-C. que la ville syrienne fut occupée par les Parthes avec tout le pays ainsi que la Phénicie (cf. DION CASSIUS, *Histoire Romaine*, XLVIII, 24, 3 et 25, 3 sqq.) ; voir aussi N. C. DEBEVOISE, *A Political History of Parthia*, Chicago, 1938, p. 109-111).

(14) M. MEULDER, *Julien l'Apostat, un guerrier impie*, dans *Byz.*, 61 (1991), p. 458-495.

(15) M. MEULDER, *L. Caesennius Paetus, un avatar de guerrier impie*, dans *Latomus*, 52 (1993), p. 98-105.

(16) De 114 à 117 apr. J.-C., Trajan s'efforça d'annexer cette région (DION CASSIUS, *Histoire romaine*, LXVIII, 18-33 ; EUTROPE, *Breuiarium*, VIII, 3, 6 ; OROSE, *Histoires*, VII, 12). Sur cette question, ZIEGLER, *op. cit.*, p. 97 sqq. Les campagnes militaires de Lucius Vérus, collègue de Marc Aurèle, entre 161 et 166, celles de Septime Sévère en 195 (*Historia Augusta, Septime Sévère*, 16, 1 et DION CASSIUS, *Histoire Romaine*, LXXV, 9, 4), de Caracalla (*Historia Augusta, Caracalla*, 6, 6-7, 1 et DION CASSIUS, *Histoire Romaine*, LXXVIII, 1-5), d'Alexandre Sévère (*Historia Augusta, Alexandre Sévère*, 55-56 et HÉRODIEN VI, 4-7) et d'Odenath de Palmyre en 265 (*Historia Augusta, Les Deux Galliens*, 10, 6 et 12, 1) constituent des incursions dans le territoire parthe.

(17) ZIEGLER, *op. cit.*, p. 133 sqq.

(18) Citons Césarée de Cappadoce (*Historia Augusta, Trente Tyrans*, II, 2), Carrhes et Nisibis (et toutes les autres villes de l'Empire romain selon l'*HISTOIRE AUGUSTE*, *Les Trois Gordiens*, 26, 6), Doura-Europos (M. ROSTOVTSEFF, *Res Gestae divi Saporis and Dura*, dans *Berytus*, 8 (1943-1944), p. 17-60, et H. R. BALDUS, *Uranius Antoninus, Münzprägung und Geschichte*, Bonn, 1971, p. 263-269). Les *Res Gestae diui Saporis* (lignes 10-19) établissent une liste de trente

règne) ([19]), de Nisibis (en Mésopotamie septentrionale) en 254 ([20]), et d'Antioche sur l'Oronte, métropole de l'Orient romain, en 256 ([21]). Pour expliquer ces victoires perses et donc les défaites subies ou les paix conclues par les empereurs romains comme Gordien Ier ([22]), Philippe l'Arabe ([23]) et surtout Valérien Ier ([24]), les sources (romaines ou orientales favorables aux Romains) ont recouru au thème de la *perfidia persica* ([25]). Mais en raison du fait que nous trouvons ces stratagèmes employés soit antérieurement dans l'histoire légendaire iranienne racontée, il est au vrai, au Moyen Âge, par le *Livre des Rois* de Firdousi, soit postérieurement dans la prise de Rome par le Wisigoth Alaric, prise narrée par le byzantin Procope — lequel précède évidemment de quatre siècles l'auteur anonyme de la *Συλλογὴ Τακτικῶν* —, nous devons nous demander si une fois de plus ([26]) la prise réelle de ces villes n'a pas été coulée, dans cet écrit anonyme de la fin du premier millénaire, dans un moule mythique.

sept villes prises aux Romains ; voir le commentaire d'A. MARICQ, *Classica et Orientalia 5. Res gestae diui Saporis*, dans *Syria*, 35 (1958), p. 295-360.

(19) TABARI, chap. 31

(20) TABARI, chap. 32. Au sujet de Nisibis, voir J. STURM, *Nisibis* 1, dans *RE*, 17, 1, col. 739 : la ville fut prise lors de la 11e année de règne de Sapor Ier.

(21) *HISTOIRE AUGUSTE, Les Trois Gordiens*, 26, 5 et *Trente Tyrans*, 2, 2; AMMIEN MARCELLIN, *Histoire*, XXIII, 5, 3 ; ZOSIME, *Histoire nouvelle*, I, 27, 2.

(22) Si nous nous en tenons aux sources perses que sont les *Res gestae diui Saporis* (éd. E. HONIGMANN et A. MARICQ, Bruxelles, 1953, p. 119-122) ; mais les sources romaines sont unanimes à nier cela et attribuent même à Gordien III des victoires sur les Sassanides (AURELIUS VICTOR, *Liber Caesarum*, 27, 7-8 ; EUTROPE, *Breviarium*, IX, 2, 2 ; *HISTOIRE AUGUSTE, Les Trois Gordiens*, 26, 5-27, 3 ; OROSE, *Histoires*, VII, 19, 3 p. ex. Voir à ce propos S. I. OOST, *The Death of the emperor Gordian III*, dans *CPh*, 53 (1958), p. 106-107).

(23) EUTROPE, *Breviarium*, IX, 3 ; AURELIUS VICTOR, *Liber Caesarum*, 28, 1 ; ZOSIME, *Histoire nouvelle*, I, 19, 1 ; ZONARAS, *Chronique*, XII, 19 (III, p. 130, 25-27 Dindorf).

(24) AURELIUS VICTOR, *Liber Caesarum*, 28, 5 écrit que Valérien Ier fut «abusé par une ruse du roi des Perses, nommé Sapor» (trad. P. DUFRAIGNE) ; aussi *HISTOIRE AUGUSTE, Les deux Valériens*, 1, 2 ; PIERRE LE PATRICE, fr. 13 dans *F.H.G.*, IV, p. 188 Müller ; ZOSIME, *Histoire nouvelle*, I, 36, 2.

(25) Le chapitre 77, 4 de la *Συλλογὴ Τακτικῶν* traite d'une ruse des Carthaginois à l'encontre des Romains, au sujet de l'île Lipari ; or, la perfidie punique est légendaire à Rome.

(26) Voir les villes nommées en n. 17.

3. *Quelle ville de Syrie ?*

Ainsi, dans le cas d'Antioche sur l'Oronte, capitale de la Syrie romaine ([27]), la ville aurait été prise par deux fois par Sapor Ier : la première fois en 253, le roi sassanide peut compter sur la complicité d'un certain Cyriadès et des amis de ce dernier, lequel était favorable au conquérant sassanide ([28]) ; de la deuxième prise d'Antioche en 256 nous ignorons le déroulement ([29]). Toutefois, N. R. Frye met en doute les dates de la double prise d'Antioche ; pour lui, la ville ne passa pour la première fois aux Perses qu'en 256 ([30]). C'est pourquoi il faudrait situer la trahison de Cyriadès, aussi nommé Mariad(n)ès, à ce moment-là ([31]), non en 253, ni à l'époque de Gallien, comme le fait Ammien Marcellin ([32]). Peut-être le passage de la *Συλλογὴ Ταχτικῶν* éclaire-t-il la prise d'Antioche. Dans ce cas, ce serait une explication alternative à celle qui présente Cyriadès

(27) Strabon, *Géographie*, XVI, 79, p. 719 ; les auteurs anciens ont reconnu son importance dans l'Orient romain : voir Flavius Josèphe, *Guerre des Juifs*, III, 2, 4 ; Procope, *Guerre Perse*, I, 17, 36 ; *Chronicon Pascale*, éd. L. Dindorf, Bonn, 1832, p. 335 ; Athénée de Naucratis, *Banquet des Sophistes*, I, 75 ; Ammien Marcellin, *Histoire*, XXII, 9, 14 la qualifie de «orientis apex pulcher». Zosime, *Histoire nouvelle*, I, 27, 2 dit d'Antioche qu'elle est la métropole de tout l'Orient. Voir à ce propos E. Will, *Antioche sur l'Oronte, métropole de l'Asie*, dans *Syria*, 74 (1997), p. 99-113

(28) Downey, *op. cit.*, p. 111-112. La mention de la libération d'Antioche en Syrie par Gordien III en 242 est mensongère de la part de l'*Histoire Auguste* (*Les trois Gordiens*, 26, 5-27, 6).

(29) *Ibid.*, p. 113.

(30) N. R. Frye, *The History of Ancient Iran*, Munich, 1983, p. 297 ; nous trouvons la même opinion chez E. Honigmann-A. Maricq, *op. cit.*, 1953, p. 131-142 et chez W. Ensslin, *Zu den Kriegen des Sassaniden Schapur I*, Munich, 1949, p. 22-45.

(31) Voir les témoignages de Malalas, *Chronographia* XII, 390-391 (éd. Dindorf, p. 295-296) ; de l'*Histoire Auguste*, *Trente Tyrans*, II ; et de Pierre le Patrice, fr. 1 dans *FHG*, IV, p. 192 Müller. Voir l'interprétation donnée de ces faits par J. Gagé, *Les Perses à Antioche et les courses de l'hippodrome du IIIe siècle, à propos du transfuge syrien Mariadès*, dans *BSF*, 31 (1953), p. 301-324, et par J. Ohlídal, *Mariades : ein Beitrag zur Geschichte des römischen Ostens im dritten Jahrhundert nach Chr.*, dans *GLP*, 16-17 (1998), p. 65-82.

(32) Ammien Marcellin, *Histoire*, XXIII, 5, 3. Aussi Zonaras, *Chronique* XII, 23 (III, p. 141, 3-6 Dindorf), et Georgius Syncellus, *Chronographie*, p. 466, 14 A.A. Mosshamer, Leipzig, 1884. M. Besnier, *L'Empire romain de l'avènement des Sévères au Concile de Nicée*, Paris, 1937, p. 177-178 a repris cette thèse.

comme un traître qui livre Antioche au pouvoir sassanide. Le récit de la *Συλλογὴ Ταϰτιϰῶν* présente donc une alternative à celui des historiens romains : il a remplacé la trahison d'un Syrien d'Antioche par la ruse du conquérant sassanide.

4. *Quelle ville de Babylonie ?*

Sur l'identité de l'autre ville prise, nous pouvons hésiter : s'agirait-il de Nisibis ? À cela l'on pourrait objecter que Nisibis ne se situe pas en Babylonie (33), mais dans le Nord de la Mésopotamie, plus précisément en Mygdonie. Cependant les écrivains de l'Antiquité (34) n'ont pas distingué, comme nos géographes modernes, ces deux régions contiguës du Moyen-Orient (35) ; en outre, nous pourrions répondre que la *Συλλογὴ Ταϰτιϰῶν* ou sa/ses sources ont peut-être confondu une Nisibis qui se trouve en Babylonie (36) avec la ville homonyme du Nord de la Mésopotamie. Il y a peut-être une raison qui explique pourquoi dans cet écrit byzantin du dixième siècle les deux prises de ville sont liées ; outre le même acteur, Sapor Ier selon nous, Nisibis se nommait Antioche, comme la capitale syrienne sur l'Oronte (37).

Cependant, une solution meilleure apparaît : Sapor Ier s'est emparé d'Hatra (38), bien avant de le faire pour Nisibis. Tout en étant située en

(33) Il y a une Nisibis en Babylonie (voir STRABON, *Géographie*, XI, 14, 2) citée par FLAVIUS JOSÈPHE, dans ses *Antiquités Judaïques* (XVIII, 8, 9 et 9, 9) qui ne la confond pas avec notre Nisibis qu'il ne connaît que sous l'appellation d'Antioche !

(34) ZONARAS, *Chronique*, IV, 24 (I, p. 383, l. 13-14 Dindorf) et XII, 9 B (II, p. 550) ainsi que Nicéphore GREGORAS (éd. L. SCHOPEN, Bonn, 1839, I, p. 38, l. 12-13) mettent Babylone en Mésopotamie ; pourquoi la *Συλλογὴ Ταϰτιϰῶν* n'aurait-elle pas appelé Babylonie, la Mésopotamie ?

(35) Voir BAUMSTARK, *Babylonia*, dans *RE*, 2, col. 2701-2702 ; J. OELSNER, *Babylonia*, dans *Der Neue Pauly* 2, col. 388-389.

(36) Cf. note 31. On aurait pu songer à Séleucie sur le Tigre ; mais elle fut détruite par l'incendie déclenché par les troupes romaines de Vérus, le collègue de Marc Aurèle à la fonction impériale (*HISTOIRE AUGUSTE*, *Verus*, 8, 3-4 ; DION CASSIUS, *Histoire Romaine*, LXXI, 2 ; AMMIEN MARCELLIN, *Histoire*, XXIII, 6, 24 ; ZONARAS, *Chronique* (éd. M. PINDER, Bonn, 1844, XII, 2 e. a.).

(37) J. STURM, *Nisibis*, dans *RE*, 17, 1, col. 728-729 citant e. a. POLYBE, *Histoires*, V, 51, 1 ; JULIEN L'APOSTAT, *Discours*, II, 62 b ; PLINE L'ANCIEN, *Histoire Naturelle*, VI, 42 ; PLUTARQUE, *Lucullus*, 32, 3 et STRABON, *Géographie*, XVI, 23 (p. 747 éd. A. MEINEKE).

(38) Ardashir, père et prédécesseur de Sapor Ier faillit prendre Hatra dès 230 (cf. R. N. FRYE, *op. cit.*, p. 293).

Mésopotamie orientale, cette ville qui s'élève en plein désert n'est pas fort éloignée de la capitale sassanide, Ctésiphon, qui, pour sa part, se trouve en Babylonie (39). Sa prise par Sapor Ier a été notamment racontée par un écrivain arabe du nom de Tabarī (40) ; comme pour Antioche sur l'Oronte, le conquérant sassanide a pu compter sur une trahison, sur celle de la fille du gouverneur de la place.

Laissons la parole au conteur arabe : «Entre le Tigre et l'Euphrate, en face de la ville de Tikrît, entre l''Irâq et la Syrie, était une ville nommée 'Hadhr. Il y avait là un roi du nom de Sâtiroun, surnommé Dhaïzan, qui était Arabe, de la tribu de Qodhâ'. Il avait une nombreuse armée, et gouvernait, depuis de longues années, la ville de 'Hadhr. C'était une forteresse que l'on avait rendue imprenable par un charme, le jour où on l'avait construite. Personne n'avait encore réussi à la faire tomber, et celui qui s'y renfermait, ne pouvait être vaincu. Dhaïzan, le roi de 'Hadhr, alors que Schâpour se rendit de l''Irâq dans la Perside, pour en chasser l'ennemi qui l'avait envahie en venant de Khorâsân, avait attaqué les frontières de l''Iraq et en avait détaché une portion. Quand Schâpour revint et qu'il en eut fini avec le royaume de Mossoul, il attaqua 'Hadhr avec une armée innombrable, telle que personne parmi les Arabes, personne parmi les Persans n'en avait encore réuni. C'est à cause de cette nombreuse armée que les Arabes donnèrent le nom de *Schâpour al-Djonoud*. Dhaïzan, le roi de 'Hadhr, s'enferma dans la forteresse, et l'armée de Schâpour vint se poster sous ses murs. Elle y resta quatre ans, sans pouvoir prendre la forteresse et sans s'en retourner. Après quatre ans, il arriva que la fille de Dhaïzan, qui était avec lui dans la forteresse, et dont le nom était Nadhîra, et qui était la plus belle femme parmi les Arabes, vint sur le mur de la forteresse et vit Schâpour qui en faisait le tour à cheval. Schâpour était très beau, et cette fille en devint amoureuse. Elle trouva un moyen de lui dépêcher quelqu'un et lui fit dire : Cette forteresse a un charme, et quand tu y resterais cent ans, tu ne pourrais t'en emparer. Si tu consens à me pren-

(39) STRECK, *Hatra*, dans *RE*, 7, col. 2516-2523.

(40) Th. NÖLDEKE, *Geschichte der Perser und Araber zur Zeit der Sāsāniden*, Leyde, 1879, p. 36-39, présente une version légèrement différente que celle reprise ici, mais pour notre propos, cela est indifférent : Dhaïzan aurait fait prisonnière une nièce de Schâpour ; la fille de Dhaïzan aurait été mise en quarantaine dans un faubourg d'Hadhr en raison de ses règles ; le ramier serait une tourterelle de couleur verte sur le pied de laquelle quelque chose devait être écrit avec le sang menstruel d'une jeune fille aux yeux bleus ; du vin aurait été envoyé pour enivrer la garnison de Dhaïzan.

dre pour femme, je t'informerai de quelle façon tu peux t'en rendre maître. Schâpour consentit et s'engagea par serment à accomplir les conditions posées par la jeune fille. Le messager retourna et lui rendit compte. La jeune fille fit dire à Schâpour : Cette forteresse ne peut être prise que si on fait tomber sur le mur un linge trempé dans le sang des menstrues d'une femme. Mais le mur est très élevé et personne n'en peut atteindre le sommet. Il y avait au haut du mur, sur une des tours de la forteresse, un nid de pigeons ramiers. La jeune fille trouva moyen de prendre un de ces pigeons, le porta dans sa maison, et lui attacha au pied un linge trempé dans du sang de menstrues, et le laissa s'envoler. Le pigeon retourna à l'endroit où était son nid, se plaça sur la tour, et y laissa tomber le linge. Le mur s'ébranla, et la forteresse s'écroula. La jeune fille avait ainsi accompli ses engagements envers Schâpour. Celui-ci pénétra dans la forteresse, s'empara de la place, et commença le massacre. Il fit poster l'armée à l'ouverture du mur et recommanda aux soldats tous ceux qui viendraient vers eux. Lui-même avec un corps d'armée attaqua Dhaïzan, et le tua. Il fit passer au fil de l'épée tous ces milliers d'Arabes qui composaient la garnison, et pas un seul n'échappa ; Schâpour les tua tous ; et ceux qui cherchèrent à se sauver par l'ouverture du mur furent massacrés par les soldats qui y étaient postés (...) Schâpour s'en retourna et fit détruire les murs de la forteresse, les fit fouler sous les pieds des éléphants et complètement raser. Ensuite il conduisit l'armée à 'Aïn-al-Tamar, ville située dans la Mésopotamie et qui faisait partie de son royaume. Il emmena Nadhîra, la fille du roi de 'Hadhr, et l'épousa. Une nuit, il était couché avec elle sur un lit composé de dix matelas faits de soie de Chine. Cette femme se plaignit toute la nuit que l'étoffe était dure et qu'elle en éprouvait des douleurs au côté. Le matin, quand Schâpour se leva, il vit le lit inondé de sang, et le côté de la femme tout sanglant. Il regarda, et vit qu'il y avait, dans le lit, sous le côté de la femme, une feuille de rose dont les bords l'avaient blessée. Schâpour demeura étonné ; il regarda {de plus près}, et vit que la moelle des os de la femme était à découvert. Il dit : O femme, quelle nourriture ton père t'a-t-il donnée ? Elle répondit : Il a fait détacher la moelle des os des moutons, des agneaux et des bœufs ; il y a fait mettre du beurre frais et du miel blanc, et une petite quantité de fleur de farine très clairsemée et de telle sorte qu'elle ne paraissait pas ; puis il a fait donner {à ce composé} une forme ronde, comme un gâteau, et l'a fait cuire dans un pot avec du beurre de vache. Il m'a donné cela comme ma nourriture ordinaire. Au lieu d'eau, il m'a fait boire du vin pur et vieux de cinq ans : je n'ai jamais mangé de

pain et je n'ai jamais bu de l'eau. Schâpour dit : Comme tu as trahi ce père qui t'a ainsi élevée, et que tu n'as jamais été reconnaissante envers lui, personne ne peut se fier à toi. Cette femme avait des cheveux qui traînaient jusqu'à terre. Schâpour fit amener un cheval jeune et ardent, et ordonna d'attacher cette femme par les cheveux aux pieds du cheval, et il le laissa prendre ainsi sa course. Le cheval traîna Nadhîra sur les pierres et la mit en pièces» (41).

Ne sommes-nous pas en présence d'une Tarpeia orientale, c'est-à-dire d'une jeune fille d'un commandant d'une ville assiégée, qui trahit les siens par amour pour le chef des assiégeants ? G. Dumézil a montré qu'avec le personnage romain de Tarpeia, nous avons affaire à un thème folklorique égéo-oriental (42). Nous rencontrons aussi dans la tentative de prise de Marseille par les Gaulois Ségobriges, racontée par Justin (43), ce thème folklorique, conjugué à celui, indo-européen pensons-nous, de la prise, grâce à une ruse, d'une ville forte apparemment inexpugnable.

Le récit de Justin se présente comme suit : *A la mort de Nannus, roi des Ségobriges, qui avait donné aux Phocéens un endroit pour fonder leur ville, son fils Comanus ayant pris sa place, un roitelet lui affirma qu'un jour Marseille causerait la ruine des peuples voisins et qu'il fallait l'écraser à sa naissance même, de peur que plus tard, devenue plus forte, elle ne l'accablât lui-même. Il ajoute encore cette fable : «Un jour une chienne pleine demanda en suppliant à un berger un endroit pour mettre bas. L'ayant obtenu, elle demanda encore la permission d'y élever ses petits. A la fin, ses petits étant devenus grands, appuyée sur sa garnison*

(41) Tabari, *Chronique*, (trad. fr. H. Zotenberg), Paris, 1980, vol. 2, p. 184-187. Une histoire semblable est narrée par Firdousi dans le *Livre des Rois* (V, 429-431), mais des différences de taille apparaissent entre les deux récits : l'héroïne se nomme Malikeh, elle est fille de Thaïr, roi des Ghassaniens, qui s'est réfugié dans une ville du Yémen, parce qu'il a enlevé Nouscheh, la fille de Nersi ; l'héroïne n'est pas rejetée de la cité – Firdousi ne parle pas de ses règles ; au contraire, elle reste à l'intérieur de la forteresse et c'est de cet endroit qu'elle fait servir du vin à la garnison ; profitant de l'ivresse et du sommeil des soldats de son père, elle ouvre les portes du château ; elle épouse évidemment Shapur, mais reste, semble-t-il, en vie après sa nuit de noces. Firdousi nous paraît édulcorer le récit primitif en montrant dans le roi de Perse un bon mari. C'est pourquoi le motif d'une Tarpeia iranienne disparaît dans son récit.

(42) Sur les histoires parallèles à celle de la romaine Tarpeia, voir G. Dumézil, *Tarpeia*, Paris, 1947, p. 282-284.

(43) Justin, *Résumé des Histoires Philippiques de Trogue Pompée*, XLIII, 4, 3-12.

domestique, elle s'arrogea la propriété du lieu». De même ces Marseillais, qui semblaient à présent être des locataires, se rendraient un jour maîtres du pays. Excité par ces conseils, le roi tend un piège aux Marseillais. Le jour de la fête de Flore, il envoie dans la ville, à titre d'hôtes, un grand nombre d'hommes vaillants et intrépides et en fait mener un grand nombre encore dans des chariots, où ils se tiennent cachés sous des joncs et des feuillages. Lui-même se cache avec une armée dans les montagnes les plus voisines afin que, lorsque les portes seraient ouvertes la nuit par les émissaires que j'ai dits, il se trouvât juste à point à l'attaque et fondît à main armée sur la ville ensevelie dans le sommeil et dans le vin. Mais une femme, parente du roi, trahit la conspiration. Elle avait un jeune Grec pour amant. Touchée de la beauté du jeune homme, elle lui révéla dans une étreinte, le secret de l'embuscade, en l'engageant à se dérober au péril. Celui-ci rapporte aussitôt la chose aux magistrats et, le piège ainsi découvert, tous les Ligures sont arrêtés et l'on tire au jour ceux qui étaient cachés sous les joncs. On les égorge tous et au piège du roi on oppose un autre piège ; il y périt lui-même avec sept mille des siens. Depuis ce temps, les Marseillais ferment leurs portes aux jours de fête, veillent, montent la garde sur les remparts, reconnaissent les étrangers, se tiennent en surveillance et gardent la ville en temps de paix, comme s'ils étaient en temps de guerre. C'est ainsi que l'on conserve les bonnes institutions, moins par nécessité que par habitude de bien faire (44).

Dans la narration de Justin, le mythème d'origine égéo-orientale (45) est en fait retourné, puisque c'est une femme appartenant aux «assiégeants» qui trahit les siens par amour pour un «assiégé» ; Justin ou sa source l'ont imbriqué dans un autre mythème que nous appelons celui du «Cheval de Troie» (46). Ce mythème se retrouve à travers l'aire indo-euro-

(44) Trad. E. CHAMBRY et L. THÉLY-CHAMBRY, Paris, Coll. Garnier, 1936 ; texte cité par D. et Y. ROMAN, *Histoire de la Gaule (VI^e siècle av. J.-C.-I^er siècle ap. J.-C.). Une confrontation culturelle*, Paris, 1997, p. 274.

(45) Voir J. BRUNEL, *La légende de Comanus*, dans *Revue Philologique*, 10 (1936), p. 333-344.

(46) Représenté ici par l'inexpugnabilité de Marseille, la simulation d'une fin d'hostilités, les chariots cachant les guerriers, l'ouverture des portes urbaines lors de la nuit festive, la dissimulation dans les environs immédiats de la cité. Pour plus de détails, nous renvoyons à notre article *La prise de Marseille par les Ségobriges : un échec* (à paraître).

péenne ([47]) dans des récits d'allure épique comme le *Ramayana* ([48]), le *Shahnameh* ([49]), dans les récits grecs concernant la prise de Troie ([50]), de Babylone ([51]), de Tégée ([52]), de Sicyone ([53]), dans les récits latins parlant de la prise de Gabies par les Tarquins ([54]), dans la *Gesta Danorum* de Saxo Grammaticus ([55]), dans la *saga d'Harald l'Invincible* ([56]), dans le *Charroi de Nîmes* ([57]), etc. ; il raconte, lors d'un siège, la prise d'une ville d'apparence imprenable grâce à une ruse, laquelle consiste pour le(s) guerrier(s) à s'introduire, sous un déguisement (ou métamorphose ([58])), dans cette ville fortifiée pour y semer l'anarchie et en ouvrir les portes aux assiégeants qui attendent en embuscade.

Au contraire de la prise ratée de Marseille par les Gaulois Ségobriges, dans le cas de la prise de la ville d'Hatra, ce motif d'origine égéo-orientale est concurrent du mythème indo-européen ; il en est en quelque sorte une alternative. Si Tabari a choisi la version dite romanesque ([59]), la

(47) Notre enquête dans d'autres littératures non indo-européennes en montre l'absence dans celles-ci.

(48) VALMIKI, *Ramayana*, t. II, p. 441-639 (éd. A. ROUSSEL, Paris, 1903) raconte la prise de Lanka, la capitale du méchant Rakshasa Ravana.

(49) FIRDOUSI, *Le Livre des Rois* (trad. fr. J. MOHL, Paris, 1865), vol. I, p. 365-373 ; vol. IV, p. 465-545 et vol. V, p. 309-315 raconte la prise de citadelles très fortifiées.

(50) HOMÈRE, *Odyssée*, VIII, 492-516 p. ex.

(51) HÉRODOTE, *Histoires*, III, 153-158.

(52) POLYEN, *Stratagèmes*, II, 26.

(53) FRONTIN, *Stratagèmes*, III, 2, 10.

(54) TITE-LIVE, I, 53, 4-54, etc.

(55) SAXO GRAMMATICUS, *Gesta Danorum*, II, 1, 8 (trad. fr. J.P. TROADEC, Paris, 1995, p. 65) raconte la prise de la ville baltique de Duna.

(56) R. BOYER, *La saga de Harald l'Impitoyable. Haralds saga sigurdarsonar, tirée du heimskringla de SNORRI STURLUSON*, trad. prés. et annotée, Paris, 1979.

(57) *Le Charroi de Nîmes*, vv. 1070-1402 (éd. J. L. PERRIER, Paris, 1931).

(58) C'est le cas du singe Hanumat, allié de Rama, qui se transforme pour pénétrer dans Lanka (voir n. 48) et de Volx Vseslavitch dans la byline russe qui porte son nom.

(59) H. T. NORRIS, *Fables and legends*, dans *The Cambridge History of Arabic Literature. 'Abbasid Belles-Lettres*, Cambridge, 1990, p. 142 : «A version of the romance of Sayf existed in the fourth/tenth century (...). The historian Al Tabarī (d. 310/923) devotes two chapters on his History to the story of Sayf or Ma 'dī Karib». Ch. PELLAT, *Langue et littérature arabes*, Paris, 1970, p. 148-149, parle de la *Chronique* de Tabari comme d'une somme de connaissances historiques faites par un compilateur scrupuleux qui cite ses sources, juxtapose les récits, ne se préoccupe pas de les concilier, ni de les fondre, ni de les rajeunir, et qui donne de la couleur à sa narration.

Συλλογὴ Τακτικῶν a opté (évidemment en raison de la nature de l'opuscule !) pour la version «plus militaire». Faire appel, dans le cas d'Antioche en Syrie et d'Hatra en Babylonie, à la perfidie orientale prévalait sur l'aveu d'une trahison d'un chef en qui les Romains avaient mis leur confiance ; il était plus valeureux d'être trompé par un ennemi que par les siens (60) !

5. *Mérops, un pseudonyme de Sapor I^er ?*

D'autre part, nous ne connaissons aucun souverain parthe ou sassanide qui se nomme Mérops. La mythologie grecque connaît sous ce nom un roi soit de Cos, soit des Éthiopiens, soit de Perkote sur l'Hellespont, un

(60) Les Byzantins semblent connaître le mythème égéo-oriental dit «de Tarpeia», puisque Kekaumenos, dans son *Strategikon* (*Vademecum des byzantinischen Aristokraten. Die sogenannte Strategikon des Kekaumenos, übersetzt, eingeleitet und erklärt* von H. G. Beck, Graz-Vienne-Cologne, 1956, chap. 78, p. 63-64) use de ce motif folklorique pour expliquer la prise de la ville italienne d'Otrante sur l'Adriatique par les Francs. «Le commandant de cette ville», écrit-il, «était un indigène du nom de Malapetzes, qui avait des Russes et des Varangues comme défenseurs de sa cité, ainsi que des lanciers et des marins. Ce Malapetzes avait une nièce qui habitait une maison sise tout près de l'enceinte urbaine. Il épargna la maison et ne la fit pas démolir, soit parce qu'elle était vieille et précieuse soit parce qu'elle était propriété de sa nièce. En raison de cela, il ne nourrissait aucune crainte. Les Francs se donnaient beaucoup de peine pour investir la ville, mais cela ne réussissait pas. Aussi le chef des Francs conçut-il un autre plan. Il fit savoir à la nièce de Malapetzes que si elle le laissait prendre la forteresse en le laissant passer par les murs du rempart qui jouxtait sa demeure, il l'épouserait. Il lui promit donc le mariage et lui fit parvenir beaucoup de présents. Vaincue par sa concupiscence, elle consentit au projet et permit, la nuit, à quelques Francs, il est vrai des hommes malins et pleins d'esprit, d'escalader le rempart au moyen de cordes. La nuit suivante, ils creusèrent un passage dans les murs du château et y introduisirent de nombreuses troupes franques. Avant qu'il ne fasse jour, ils attaquèrent la garnison en hurlant. Quand celle-ci vit contre toute attente l'ennemi à l'intérieur de la ville, elle prit la fuite». Et Kekaumenos conclut : «lorsqu'un malheur se produit très brusquement, il jette même le plus courageux ou le plus intelligent dans un comportement blâmable. C'est ainsi que sur-le-champ Malapetzes, le commandant de la citadelle, s'enfuit tout seul sur un bateau, laissant femme et enfants aux mains des ennemis» et donne le conseil au destinataire de son livre d'être toujours très prudent ! Kekaumenos, qui aurait vécu entre 1020 et 1070, selon *ODB*, p. 1119, semble, suivant J. Gay, *L'Italie méridionale et l'Empire byzantin depuis l'avènement de Basile I^er jusqu'à la prise de Bari par les Normands (867-1071)*, Paris, 1904, p. 536, par cette anecdote, narrer la prise d'Otrante par Robert Guiscard.

devin, le grand-père de Podalire et de Machaon, etc. ([61]), mais nous ne voyons pas de prime abord pourquoi la *Συλλογὴ Τακτικῶν* a affublé un conquérant oriental d'un tel nom grec : lisons-nous un manuscrit erroné (une faute de son auteur ?) ? Devons-nous avouer notre ignorance (est-ce une mauvaise adaptation ou traduction d'un terme persan ou oriental ?) ? Ou bien, malgré tout, pouvons-nous essayer de découvrir un motif plausible pour expliquer le nom de Mérops ?

Ce nom propre nous a fait songer à celui de cette « utopie » que l'historien Théopompe du IV^e^ s. av. J.-C. décrit au huitième livre de ses *Philippica* ([62]), à savoir la Μεροπὶς γῆ ; or, dans ce 8^e^ livre l'historien de Chios traite de la Perse ([63]). Aussi, ne devons-nous pas être surpris si certains ont assimilé ce pays imaginaire qu'est la «terre de Mérops» à l'Orient iranien. Ceci suppose cependant que l'œuvre de Théopompe, vieille de quatorze siècles, eût été encore lue, et du moins son souvenir fût resté vivace jusqu'au milieu de l'époque byzantine. Et pour cause : si la Suda qui semble dater du X^e^ s. cite Théopompe ([64]), Photius, le lettré célèbre du IX^e^ s., transmet des renseignements et des fragments assez longs de l'historien chiote ([65]). La *Συλλογὴ Τακτικῶν* ou sa source ont donné — telle est notre hypothèse — à Sapor I^er^ le nom de Mérops ([66]) ; ce traité anonyme de poliorcétique semble être contemporain de l'empereur byzantin Constantin VII Porphyrogénète ([67]), lequel reprend dans ses

(61) KRUSE, *Merops*, dans *RE*, 15, 1, col. 1065-1066.

(62) Dans *Fragmente der Griechischen Historiker* 115 F 64-75 Jacoby (Leyden, II, 1940). Voir A.T. FLOWER, *Theopompus of Chios. History and Rhetoric in the Fourth Century BC*, Oxford, 1997, p. 214-217 pour une analyse de cette prétendue « utopie » créée par cet historien.

(63) Notamment les fragments 64 (= DIOGÈNE LAERCE, I, 8-9), 65 (= PLUTARQUE, *De Iside et Osiride*, 47, p. 370 bc) et 66 (= PHOTIUS, *Lexicon*, s.u. Ζωπύρου τάλαντα). Voir FLOWER, *op. cit.*, p. 196.

(64) HUNGER, *op. cit.*, I, p. 244.

(65) I. VASSIS, «Photios» 2, dans *Der Neue Pauly* 9, col. 957-959, le situe entre 810 et 893 apr. J.-C. Pour la présence de Théopompe chez Photius, voir FLOWER, *op. cit.*, p. 13-14, 45 et 48. D. MENDELS, *Greek and Roman History in the Bibliotheca of Photius*, dans *Byz.*, 56 (1986), p. 198-200 explique l'intérêt témoigné par Photius entre autres pour Théopompe qui a traité des affaires d'Asie où la Perse de l'époque classique est mêlée.

(66) Il est troublant de constater que le chapitre 77, 3 cite la ruse de Zôpyre, dont parle précisément le fragment 66 de Théopompe.

(67) Voir p. ex. OSTROGORKSY, p. 287 et 304-305.

œuvres des passages de Procope ([68]) ou dans celles qu'il commande d'écrire, des extraits d'écrivains non seulement des IVe-VIe s., mais aussi de l'époque classique depuis Hérodote jusqu'à Dion Cassius ([69]), p. ex. Nous pouvons supposer que Théopompe pouvait faire partie des historiographes repris ou connus par Constantin VII.

Qui plus est, les quatre *Livres des Rois* attribués à Joseph Genesius et datant de l'époque de Constantin VII Porphyrogénète ([70]) parlent de Corfou qui porte le nom de Ζάκυνθος τοῦ Μέροπος, c'est-à-dire fils de Mérops ([71]) ; ceci prouve que le nom de Mérops circulait dans le cercle impérial ([72]). En fait selon Denys d'Halicarnasse, Pausanias et Étienne de Byzance, Zakynthos était le fils du Troyen (donc oriental) Dardanos ([73]). Mérops remplacerait donc Dardanos !

En quatre autres passages de la Συλλογὴ Τακτικῶν il est question de Mérops, mais ce qu'ils racontent au sujet de ses stratagèmes ne peut nous aider à mieux l'identifier, au contraire même à embrouiller l'identification. Car deux ruses qui lui sont prêtées par la Συλλογὴ Τακτικῶν sont également attribuées par Polyen, l'une à un certain Amphirètos

(68) Mais malheureusement celui qui narre la prise de Rome fait peut-être partie d'un passage perdu du *De Insidiis* du Porphyrogénète.

(69) Thucydide, Polybe, Nicolas de Damas, Denys d'Halicarnasse, Diodore de Sicile, Flavius Josèphe, Appien, Arrien.

(70) A. LESMUELLER-WERNER et I. THURN, introduction à *Josephi Genesii Regum Libri quattuor*, Berlin-New York, 1973, p. XI

(71) *Josephi Genesii Regum Libri quattuor*, rec. A. LESMUELLER-WERNER et I. THURN, Berlin-New York, 1973, 34, ll. 1-2. Un écrivain du premier tiers du XIIe s., Michel GLYCAS, *Annales*, éd. I. BEKKER, Bonn, 1836, p. 241, l. 13, explique le sens du mot μέροπες «mortels» par le fait que ceux-ci sont constitués d'une partie (μερισμός) de la voix et de la terre !

(72) Signalons que MALALAS, *Chronique*, II, 13 (éd. J. THURN, Berlin-New York, 2000) fait d'un certain Merros, le fils de Persée et d'Andromède qui régna sur les Perses ; cf. JEAN D'ANTIOCHE, 6, 18-20 dans *Fragmenta Historicorum Graecorum* (éd. C. MÜLLER, Paris, 1868, IV, p. 545) et que GEORGES CÉDRÉNOS, *Historiarum Compendium*, éd. B. G. NIEBUHR, Bonn, 1838, t. I, p. 42, reprend la même information en écrivant le nom sous la graphie Merôs. Ce Merros ou Merôs remplace chez eux le traditionnel Perseus des mythographes grecs classiques : HELLANICOS DE LESBOS, *FGrH* 4 F 60 Jacoby = ÉTIENNE DE BYZANCE, s. v. Ἀρταία ; HÉRODOTE, VII, 61 ; *Bibliothèque d'Apollodore*, II, 4, 5 ; TZETZES à Lycophron, *Alexandra*, 838 ; Scholie à DENYS LE PÉRIÉGÈTE, 1053.

(73) Respectivement *Antiquités Romaines*, I, 50 ; *Périégèse*, VIII, 24, 2 ; et s. v. Ζάκυνθος.

Acanthios ([74]), l'autre au général spartiate Brasidas ([75]). Devant cette diversité, nous pourrions nous demander si Mérops n'est pas un pseudonyme pour n'importe quel chef d'armée dont l'auteur anonyme aurait oublié le nom ! Ou bien, nous pourrions dire qu' «on ne prête qu'aux riches» et la Συλλογὴ Τακτικῶν a enrichi le palmarès de Mérops / Sapor Ier. Toutefois, une anecdote pourrait confirmer notre identification de Mérops avec Sapor Ier ; elle parle du siège qu'il subit dans la ville d'Antigoneia ([76]). Cette cité se trouve en Syrie ([77]). Nous aurions ici un indice supplémentaire en faveur de notre hypothèse ; mais aucun document ne permet de confirmer que Sapor Ier s'est trouvé enfermé dans cette ville proche d'Antioche. Polyen rapporte une anecdote semblable, mais mise au compte d'un certain Mygdonios. Ce nom évoque évidemment la Mygdonie qui est le nom de deux régions différentes, l'une en Mésopotamie ([78]), l'autre en Macédoine ([79]). Or cette région au Nord de la Grèce connaît aussi deux villes du nom d'Antigoneia ([80]). Se pose la question de savoir si le Mérops assiégé dans Antigoneia n'est pas un Grec, un Macédonien plus précisément, ou s'il s'agit de Sapor Ier venant de conquérir notamment Nisibis en Mygdonie (cf. n. 33 et 37) ([81]). L'exemple de Mérops assiégé dans Antigoneia est précédé de deux anecdotes concernant des Perses, l'un étant Autophradatès, l'autre Cyrus le

(74) Συλλογὴ Τακτικῶν, 95, 9 et POLYEN, *Stratagèmes*, VI, 54. Cet Amphirètos (ou Amphé/èretos) d'Acanthos est totalement inconnu et ne peut être localisé, puisque plusieurs villes situées soit en Macédoine, soit en Athamanie d'Épire, soit en Chersonèse de Cnide, soit encore en Égypte – et même une île de Propontide – se nomment ainsi (PIETSCHMANN, *Akanthos* 1-5, dans *RE*, 1, col. 1147-1148).

(75) Συλλογὴ Τακτικῶν, 99, 3 et POLYEN, *Stratagèmes*, I, 38, 5.

(76) Συλλογὴ Τακτικῶν, 95, 4.

(77) BENZINGER, *Antigoneia* 1, dans *RE*, 1, col. 2404 signalant que Dion Cassius (*Histoire romaine*, XL, 29) affirme qu'elle existe encore à son époque.

(78) F. H. WEISSBACH, *Mygdonia* 5, dans *RE*, 16, col. 1000-1001.

(79) E. OBERHUMMER, *Mygdonia* 2, dans *RE*, 16, col. 998-999.

(80) TITE-LIVE, *Histoire romaine*, XLIV, 10 et PLINE L'ANCIEN, *Histoire naturelle*, IV, 34. Aussi une cité de Chaonie, au Nord de l'Épire (POLYBE, *Histoire*, II, 5, 5 et 6, 6, ainsi que TITE-LIVE, *Histoire romaine*, XXXII, 5 et XLIII, 23).

(81) Les noms de Mygdon, de Mygdones et de Mygdonie sont souvent associés à des hommes ou des régions de Thrace ou d'Asie mineure (Phrygie, Bithynie) si nous en jugeons par les articles que leur consacrent KEYSSNER, E. OBERHUMMER, W. RUDE et F. H. WEISSBACH, dans *RE*, 16, col. 997-1001.

Grand ([82]) ; ce voisinage nous fait penser que Mérops serait ici aussi Sapor Ier.

6. *Origine byzantine ou persane du chapitre 77, 1 et 2 de la Συλλογὴ Τακτικῶν ?*

Présenté sous l'identité de Mérops, Sapor Ier, le preneur de la ville située en Babylonie et de celle en Syrie (mais pourquoi l'auteur de ce petit traité de poliorcétique ne les a-t-il pas nommées ([83]) ?) use du stratagème du «Cheval de Troie» soit en déguisant ses meilleurs soldats en esclaves, soit en les dissimulant dans des corbeilles destinées aux marchandises. Reste cependant une question : quelle est l'origine de ces deux anecdotes ? Sont-elles byzantines — bien que l'une se rapproche de ce que nous lisons dans la littérature persane de Firdousi — ou dérivent-elles par emprunt de la tradition persane ? Nous tâcherons d'y répondre dans les lignes suivantes consacrées à Procope.

Procope, dans *La Guerre contre les Vandales*, narre la célèbre prise de Rome par Alaric, le 24 août 410 apr. J.-C ([84]): «Après avoir passé beaucoup de temps à assiéger la place sans pour autant parvenir, de vive force ou par quelque stratagème, à s'(...)emparer (de Rome), Alaric imagina le plan suivant. Il leva dans son armée un corps de 300 jeunes gens qui, bien qu'encore imberbes, venaient d'atteindre le temps du service, et dont il connaissait la noblesse et, pour leur âge, l'exceptionnelle bravoure. Il les informa discrètement qu'il allait les adresser, à titre de cadeau et en les présentant, bien sûr, comme des esclaves, à certains patriciens de Rome. Sur ce, il leur enjoignit de montrer, dès qu'ils entreraient dans la maison

(82) Συλλογὴ Τακτικῶν, 95, 2 et 3. Autophradatès est un amiral perse qui a parfois reconquis momentanément des villes passées à Alexandre le Grand (ici, il s'agirait d'Éphèse alliée de Philippe II ; cf. KAERST, *Autophradates* 1, dans *RE*, 2, col. 2607).

(83) Signalons que le xe siècle verra les Byzantins sous les ordres de l'empereur Nicéphore II Phocas reprendre Antioche aux Arabes, plus précisément en 969 selon DOWNEY, *op. cit.*, p. 284.

(84) O. SEECK, *Geschichte der Untergangs der antiken Welt*, Berlin, 1921, t. V, p. 599-600. Voir SOZOMÈNE, *Histoire ecclésiastique* IX, 9, 4 (éd. J. BIDEZ, Berlin, 1960, p. 401), qui parle d'une prise de Rome par «trahison» ; PHILOSTORGIOS, *Histoire ecclésiastique* XII, 3 sq. (éd. J. BIDEZ-Fr. WINKELMANN, Berlin, 1972, p. 142), qui ne dit rien de précis ; aussi OLYMPIODORE DE THÈBES, fr. 3 dans *Fragmenta Historicorum Graecorum* (éd. C. MÜLLER), Paris, 1868, IV, p. 58 et SOCRATE, *Histoire ecclésiastique*, VII, 10, 4.

de ces personnages, infiniment de douceur et de mesure dans l'accomplissement empressé de toutes les tâches que pourraient leur imposer leurs maîtres ; puis peu de temps après, à une date fixée, vers le milieu de la journée, à un moment où leurs futurs propriétaires feraient déjà, comme probable, la sieste consécutive au repas, ils devraient tous se retrouver à la Porte dite Salaria, attaquer à l'improviste les gardes de celle-ci, les tuer d'emblée et, pour finir, ouvrir le plus rapidement possible cette Porte. Après avoir donné ces instructions aux jeunes gens, Alaric envoya immédiatement des émissaires auprès des sénateurs et leur fit savoir qu'il admirait l'attachement que ces derniers témoignaient à leur empereur ; désormais, ajoutait-il, il ne les importunerait plus, à cause des qualités — valeur et loyauté — dont à l'évidence ils étaient abondamment pourvus, et pour que des hommes de cœur comme eux conservassent un souvenir de lui, il voulait, disait-il, leur offrir, à chacun en particulier, des esclaves. Là-dessus, après leur avoir annoncé ces intentions, il leur expédia les jeunes gens ; puis il commanda aux Barbares de procéder aux préparatifs de départ et s'arrangea pour que les Romains les vissent faire. Les sénateurs avaient bien sûr accueilli avec bienveillance ses propos, et les cadeaux qu'ils reçurent de lui leur causèrent un vif plaisir, car ils étaient loin de songer à une ruse du Barbare. Les jeunes gens envoyés par Alaric montraient en effet une réelle docilité envers leurs maîtres, et cette attitude éloignait d'eux tout soupçon ; par ailleurs, dans le camp d'Alaric certains soldats quittaient déjà manifestement leur poste et levaient le siège, tandis que d'autres paraissaient devoir les imiter sous peu. Survint le jour fixé. Alaric, qui avait équipé toutes ses troupes pour passer à l'attaque, se tenait, prêt à agir, à proximité immédiate de la Porte Salaria, devant laquelle, dès le début, il avait établi son camp. Ce même jour, au moment convenu, les jeunes gens se rendirent ensemble à cette Porte, en attaquèrent inopinément les gardes, qu'ils tuèrent, puis en ouvrirent les battants et laissèrent Alaric et ses soldats pénétrer dans la ville en toute liberté. Ceux-ci incendièrent les demeures les plus proches de la Porte (...) ; puis ils pillèrent l'ensemble de la cité et y tuèrent la majeure partie des Romains avant de s'éloigner » ([85]).

Ce récit de Procope est-il historique ? ou les informateurs de l'historien ont-ils coulé dans un moule mythique le récit de la prise de Rome par Alaric ? Car Procope lui-même ajoute à son récit : «Selon d'autres infor-

(85) PROCOPE, *Guerre Vandale*, I, 2, 14 sqq. ; trad. D. ROQUES, Paris, 1990.

mateurs, cependant, la prise de Rome par Alaric ne se déroula pas ainsi. D'après eux, une femme nommée Proba, à qui sa fortune et son renom conféraient une position particulièrement remarquable dans le Sénat de Rome, prit pitié des habitants de la Ville, qu'elle voyait périr de faim ou de toutes sortes d'autres mauvais traitements (certains en venaient déjà à manger leurs congénères !). Constatant de surcroît qu'ils n'avaient plus aucun espoir de sauver la situation puisque l'ennemi tenait le fleuve et le port, elle ordonna à ses serviteurs, dit-on, de profiter de la nuit pour ouvrir les portes de la cité» ([86]). Cette seconde version doit nous mettre en garde contre la première, car par certains détails comme la famine et l'anthropophagie attestées par les contemporains que sont Saint Jérôme, Saint Augustin et Pélasge ([87]), la situation stratégique, le nom de la romaine responsable de l'ouverture des portes ([88]), elle semble être plus proche de la réalité. Nous pouvons donc dire que chez Procope, il y a eu vraisemblablement mythification de la prise de Rome par Alaric.

La juxtaposition des deux versions de la prise de Rome de 410 ap. J.-C. pourrait paraître paradoxale, en raison du rejet du mythe que proclame Procope ([89]) ; mais nous savons que Procope, fidèle à une longue tradition ([90]), considérait Homère comme un historien ([91]) ; aussi ne s'est-il pas rendu compte du schéma mythique dans lequel ses sources avaient coulé la prise de Rome par Alaric ([92]), et l'a reproduit avec, malgré tout,

(86) PROCOPE, *Guerre Vandale*, I, 2, 27 sq.

(87) Voir les textes réunis par A. PIGANIOL, *Le Sac de Rome*, Paris, 1964, *passim* ; M. MESLIN et J.-R. PALANQUE, *Le Christianisme antique*, Paris, 1967, p. 263-267.

(88) Voir p. ex. E. DEMOUGEOT, *De l'unité à la division de l'Empire romain*, Paris, 1951, p. 467.

(89) PROCOPE, *Guerre Gothique*, IV, 1, 3 : μύθου γὰρ ἱστορίαν παρὰ πολὺ κεχωρίσθαι οἶμαι. ἀλλ' ἐς τὸ ἀκριβὲς διεξιόντι τά τε ὀνόματα καὶ τὰ πράγματα, ὅσα δὴ τὰ νῦν ἐπιχωριάζει τῶν τόπων ἐκείνων ἑκάστῳ.

(90) Voir A. W. GOMME, *The Greek Attitude to Poetry and History*, Berkeley-Los Angeles, 1954.

(91) HUNGER, *op. cit.*, I, p. 296, met en valeur l'influence sur la formation de Procope des écoles de rhétorique, où Homère était considéré comme un historien. Pour plus de détails, voir O. VEH, *Zur Geschichtsschreibung und Weltauffassung des Prokop von Caesarea*, Bayreuth, 1950, I, p. 11 sq. Pareillement, Procope ne semble pas mettre en doute les compétences géographiques d'Homère, si nous en jugeons par sa *Guerre Gothique* (I, 11, 2-4).

(92) *Ibid.*, p. 287 : «die Eroberung Roms durch Alaric lieg{t} bereits ausserhalb des erhaltenen Textes des Zosimos».

un certain scepticisme. D'ailleurs, l'on a remarqué que dans les trois premiers livres de la *Guerre des Goths*, Procope se montre très curieux et amateur d'événements étonnants, notamment lors de son séjour à Rome en 537. Ainsi affirme-t-il avoir lu les livres sibyllins dans leur intégralité et se fait-il l'écho de la spéculation de certains patriciens ou sénateurs romains à leur sujet. De plus, Procope s'est laissé fortement influencé par le sentiment de nostalgie pour Rome comme antique cité et capitale de l'Empire et aussi comme demeure de l'aristocratie sénatoriale de l'Occident, surtout après la prise et la destruction de la ville par les Goths de Totila en 546 (93).

Devant la profonde similitude entre le récit procopéen de la prise de Rome par Alaric et la narration anonyme et vague de la capture d'une ville babylonienne par Mérops — c'est-à-dire, selon nous, par Sapor Ier — se pose une double question : l'auteur de la *Συλλογὴ Τακτικῶν* a-t-il volontairement transposé le récit de Procope, tout en gardant l'identité vague et de la ville assiégée et de l'assiégeant, ou bien Procope et «Léon VI» ont-ils appliqué chacun à un événement qu'ils racontaient un schéma mythique propre aux Byzantins, à savoir introduire dans la ville assiégée de faux esclaves en cadeau afin d'y semer la pagaille et d'en ouvrir les portes ? Cette dernière hypothèse n'exclurait pas la précédente, puisque l'auteur de la Συλλογὴ Τακτικῶν a pu lire Procope et reprendre une ruse caractéristique des Byzantins (94).

Une autre hypothèse pourrait être avancée : Procope et la *Συλλογὴ Τακτικῶν* ont pu emprunter aux historiens sassanides le motif des «esclaves introduits comme des chevaux de Troie», le premier en le transposant à Alaric assiégeant Rome la capitale de l'Empire (95), le second en l'attribuant à un certain conquérant oriental du nom de Mérops assiégeant à une époque indéterminée une ville indéterminée de Babylonie. Cet emprunt à des historiens sassanides ne doit pas être rejeté, puisque Procope s'est intéressé dans son ouvrage consacré aux *Guerres* — et plus précisément dans les deux premiers volumes consacrés aux guerres contre les Sassanides — aux réalités iraniennes, de

(93) A. Cameron, *Procopius and the Sixth Century*, Berkeley-Los Angeles, 1985, p. 191-195 renvoyant dans les notes à la *Guerre Gothique* I, 19 et 24-25 ainsi que III, 20 et 24.

(94) Selon Hunger, *op. cit.*, I, p. 291, une bonne douzaine de témoignages d'auteurs byzantins entre les VIe et XIVe s., prouve que Procope était lu à Byzance.

(95) A. Schwarcz, *Alaricus* 2, dans *Der Neue Pauly* 1, col. 432-433 rappelle qu'Alaric a également menacé Constantinople.

même que les historiens byzantins de la seconde moitié de son siècle (96). Les Byzantins ont pu emprunter aux Sassanides et adapter le mythème du «Cheval de Troie», d'autant plus qu'il ne leur était pas inconnu, puisqu'il leur rappelait celui chanté par Homère et ses successeurs, jusqu'à Triphiodore (97).

Il y a peut-être un argument supplémentaire en faveur de la reprise à la tradition perse des stratagèmes comme le déguisement en esclaves et l'introduction dans une place forte de «fausses marchandises». Le *Stratégicon* du Pseudo-Maurice (98) fait allusion, semble-t-il, à ces deux ruses poliorcétiques. Au livre VIII, il écrit : Οὔχ, ὡς ἔτυχε, δεῖ τοὺς οἰκέτας καταφεύγοντας δέχεσθαι· πολλάκις γὰρ ὑπὸ τῶν πολεμίων πέμπονται δόλῳ ὡς ἵκεται καὶ τοῖς δεξαμένοις ἐπιβουλεύουσιν (99), ...Τοὺς προσρυομένους ταῖς πολιορκουμέναις πόλεσι δεῖ παραφυλάττεσθαι· πολλάκις γὰρ ὑπὸ τῶν πολεμίων πέμπονται, καὶ τῶν ἔσω περὶ αὐτοὺς ἀσχολουμένων, οἱ πολεμίοι ἐπιτίθενται (100).

(96) Sur les sources sassanides, voir HUNGER, *op. cit.*, I, p. 306-307. Pour AGATHIAS (*Histoire,* II, 23-32 et IV, 24-29), *ibid.*, I, p. 304 ; pour MENANDRE, *ibid.*, I, 309-310 ; pour JEAN D'EPIPHANIE, *ibid.*, I, 312 ; pour THEOPHYLACTE SIMOKATTA, *ibid.*, I, 313-316.

(97) B. GERLAUD, introduction à *TRIPHIODORE, La Prise d'Ilion*, Paris, 1982, p. 6-8, date Triphiodore entre les milieux des IIIe et IVe siècles, peut-être peu après la fondation de Constantinople en 324, et certainement un bon siècle avant Nonnos de Panopolis, auteur des *Dionysiaca*, et p. 55-56 parle de l'influence de Triphiodore sur son contemporain Grégoire de Nazianze, puis sur son imitateur qu'est Nonnos, et sur les auteurs byzantins jusqu'à Tzetzès.

(98) OSTROGORSKY, *op. cit.*, p. 52.

(99) *Stratégicon de Pseudo-Maurice*, VIII, 1, 41 : «Non, comme cela est arrivé, il ne faut pas accueillir dans sa ville assiégée des esclaves en fuite ; car souvent ils sont envoyés par l'ennemi par ruse sous l'aspect de suppliants et complotent contre ceux qui les ont accueillis» (trad. personnelle).

(100) *Ibid.*, VIII, 1, 42 : «On doit se méfier de ceux qui se réfugient en tant que déserteurs dans les villes assiégées ; car souvent l'ennemi les envoie, et ils allument des incendies et pendant que les gens de la ville sont occupés à éteindre ceux-ci, les ennemis se mettent à attaquer» (trad. personnelle). Kekaumenos fait la même mise en garde contre les déserteurs et les transfuges (*Vademecum des byzantinischen Aristokraten. Die sogenannte Strategikon des Kekaumenos, übersetzt, eingeleitet und erklärt* von H. G. BECK, Graz-Wien-Köln, 1956, p. 35 § 29). Y a-t-il allusion, dans les incendies allumés par les transfuges, à la tentative ratée de prendre la ville de Daras de la part d'Isdigousnas, ambassadeur de Chosroès Ier (Cf. PROCOPE, *Guerre Perse*, II, 28, 31-37) ?

Cet opuscule «impérial» cite très rarement des exemples concrets, mais grâce à trois allusions, les spécialistes de la question le datent des années de peu antérieures à 628 ([101]) ou autour de 630 ([102]) ; de toute façon, cet ouvrage semble être marqué par les dernières guerres que Byzance doit livrer aux Perses avant l'invasion arabe au Moyen-Orient. C'est pourquoi, il a pu reprendre à la tradition persane des stratagèmes peut-être plus fictifs que réels.

7. *Conclusion.*

Aussi sans nommer l'auteur de ces stratagèmes ou par l'emploi d'un «pseudonyme», la *Συλλογὴ Ταχτικῶν* du Pseudo-Léon le Sage et le *Stratégicon* du Pseudo-Maurice font référence à des ruses « légendaires » de Sapor Ier à l'encontre de deux villes importantes (par leur position stratégique) de Babylonie et de Syrie, dont la prise est célèbre grâce aux historiographes gréco-romains et persans, à savoir Hatra (sous le règne de l'empereur romain Gordien III) et Antioche (sous celui de Valérien Ier) ; la prise d'Hatra semble inaugurer le règne de Sapor Ier ([103]), celle d'Antioche semble marquer l'apogée de l'expansionnisme sassanide. La question reste ouverte de savoir si les Byzantins ont pris la matière des récits concernant les stratagèmes employés dans leur propre culture ou l'ont empruntée aux chroniqueurs perses ([104]).

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(101) G. T. DENNIS, introduction à *Das Strategikon des Maurikios* (einführung, edition und indices von G.T.D., übersetzung von E. GAMILLSCHEG), Vienne, 1981, p. 15-18.

(102) A. TOYNBEE, *Constantine Porphyrogenitus and his World*, Londres, 1973, p. 617-618.

(103) La question est fort débattue, mais c'est à Hatra que Sapor Ier prit le diadème royal le 17/18 avril 240, si nous ajoutons foi au *Codex Manichaicus Coloniensis* (18, 1-16 : éd. L. KOENEN et C. RÖMER, Opladen, 1988, p. 10-12).

(104) Tabari et Firdousi ont pu emprunter le motif folklorique de «la fille qui trahit son père, chef d'une citadelle et les siens» au monde grec (cf. K. KRUMBACHER, *Geschichte der Byzantinischen Literatur*, Munich, 1897², p. 33 qui parle des emprunts faits par les Arabes et les Syriens e. a. à la littérature grecque et byzantine).

DID THE DAUGHTERS OF ISRAEL COME OUT DANCING AND SINGING TO MEET... DAVID ? A BIBLICAL IMAGE IN CHRISTIAN-MACEDONIAN IMPERIAL ATTIRE (*)

The conception of the Byzantine emperor is rooted in the early days of the Byzantine Empire and based on the political policies and ideology of Rome adopted by the Christians. Imperial authority was conceived as having emanated from Divine rule, and the *basileus* was considered the friend of Christ (1). Representing the Divinity on earth, he emulates the power and virtues of God. The first Christians, too, drew upon the Bible, and saw in the first Christian emperor, Constantine the Great, a new Moses, a new David, and a new Solomon, the Divine chosen one, sovereign through Divine grace, and terrestrial representative of the celestial autocrat. Like the great biblical kings, the Byzantine emperor, guided by Logos, leads his people toward Divine knowledge, thereby earning the reputation as heir to the throne (2).

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(1) For example, in the *Treatise of Philotheos*, probably written in 899, Emperor Leo VI "The Sage" is called φιλοχρίστου (N. Oikonomides, *Les listes de préséance byzantine des IXe et Xe siècles*, Paris, 1972, pp. 81, 101).

(2) G. Moravčsik, *Ἀνώνυμον ἀφιερωτικὸν ποίημα περὶ τοῦ αὐτοκράτορος Βασιλείου Α*, in N. V. Tomadakes, ed., *Εἰς μνήμην Κ. Ι. Ἀμαντου*, Athens, 1960, pp. 7-9 ; F. Dvornik, *Early Christian and Byzantine Political Philosophy*, Washington, D.C., 1966, pp. 617-619 ; H. Hunger, ed., *Das byzantinische Herrscherbild,* Darmstadt, 1975 ; P. Schreiner, *Charakteristische Aspekte der byzantinischen Hofkultur. Der Kaiserhof in Constantinopel*, in R. Lauer and H. H. Majer, eds., *Höfische Kultur in Südosteuropa : Bericht der Kolloquien der Südosteuropa-Komission 1988 bis 1990*, Göttingen, 1994, pp. 18-19. According to C. Mango, the Byzantine auto-conception founded on a logical vision of his-

The Divine conception of the emperor's authority reached its apogee in the ninth and tenth centuries, a period corresponding roughly to the rule of the Macedonian dynasty (867-1054). The symbolic insignia of the emperor's function, his purple and golden imperial attire ([3]), the daily ceremonies ([4]) and the ceremonial activity focusing on the major relics of Christianity preserved in the churches and palaces of Constantinople ([5]) epitomize this conception.

The emperor's eminent and sacred status is reinforced primarily by an impressive propaganda embodied in the panegyrical imperial literature, wherein the emperor is compared to the stock biblical figures of Moses, David, and Solomon, or to the idealized one of Constantine the Great ([6]). The biblical parallels are the prevalent and recurrent theme in Byzantine visual art, especially David and scenes of his life, which are selected and arranged according to the standard sequence of the imperial encomium : birth, upbringing, deeds, and acme ([7]). It is not surprising that the visual analogies are generally illustrated in manuscripts that were largely crafted in the Macedonian imperial workshops or in the major monasteries of the capital during the ninth to eleventh centuries ([8]).

tory combined with Divine revelations was more "biblical" than "Greek" (*Byzantinism and Romantic Hellenism*, in *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes*, 28 [1965], pp. 29-43, esp. pp. 30-31). For an overall survey of the visual expression of the sacro-imperial conception, see A. GRABAR, *L'empereur dans l'art byzantin*, London, 1971[2].

(3) On the imperial garments generally, and on the signification of the purple and the golden colors specifically, see E. PILTZ, *Middle Byzantine Court Costume*, in H. MAGUIRE, ed., *Byzantine Court Culture from 829 to 1204*, Washington, D.C., 1997, pp. 39-51, esp. pp. 42-44, 50.

(4) MANGO, *Byzantinism and Romantic Hellenism*, p. 3.

(5) I. KALAVREZOU, *Helping Hands for the Empire : Imperial Ceremonies and the Cult of Relics at the Byzantine Court*, in MAGUIRE, ed., *Byzantine Court Culture*, pp. 53-79.

(6) G. DENNIS, *Imperial Panegyric : Rhetoric and Reality*, in MAGUIRE, ed., *Byzantine Court Culture*, pp. 131-40. For parallels between Moses and the emperor Constantine VII Porphyrogenetos, see B. FLUSIN, *Le panégyrique de Constantin VII Porphyrogénète pour la translation des reliques de Grégoire le Théologien (BHG 728)*, in *REB*, 57 (1999), pp. 5-81, esp. pp. 32, 36, 74-75.

(7) H. MAGUIRE, *The Art of Comparing in Byzantium*, in *Art Bulletin*, 70 (1988), pp. 88-103, esp. pp. 89-94. See too, A. CUTLER, *The Psalter of Basil II*, in *Arte Veneta*, 30 (1976), pp. 9-19 and 31 (1977), pp. 9-15.

(8) H. BELTING, *Problemi vecchi e nuovi sull'arte della cosiddetta "Rinascenza macedone" a Bisanzio*, in *Corsi di cultura sull'arte Ravennate e*

This paper will examine one aspect of the imperial encomium : the emperor's deeds as reflected in the life of David. In order to see how the imperial panegyric structures the presentation of biblical narrative in Byzantine art, we shall take as a case in point the image of the Women of Israel welcoming David upon his return to Jerusalem after defeating Goliath (1 Sam. 18 :6-7). Modern research has interpreted the exaltation of David as the archetype of jubilation for a Byzantine ruler without analyzing in detail its visual logic and appearance in the illuminated Macedonian manuscripts (9). It will be our task to point out its iconographic formula and visual elements and to decipher both its sacred and political meaning. After analyzing several examples, we will discuss the patristic exegesis of the biblical narrative and also consider contemporary historical and panegyrical sources.

The most representative illustration of the Women of Israel welcoming David appears on folio 24r of the Vatican Book of Kings, gr. 333, dated to the tenth century (Fig. 1) illustrating 1 Kings 18 : 6-7 (10). It should be noted that this is the only extant illuminated manuscript that combines the Jewish canonical books of 1 and 2 Samuel and 1 and 2 Kings and are labeled, as per the Septuagint, 1-4 Kings. David appears on the left wear-

Bizantina, 29 (1982), pp. 37-57 ; IDEM, *Kunst oder Objekt-Stil? Fragen zur Funktion der "Kunst" in der "Makedonischen Renaissance"*, in I. HUTTER, ed., *Byzanz und der Westen*, SB Wien 432, Vienna, 1984, pp. 65-83 ; C. JOLIVET-LÉVY, *L'image du pouvoir dans l'art byzantin à l'époque de la dynastie macédonienne (867-1056)*, in *Byz.*, 5 (1987), pp. 441-470 ; M. RESTLE, *Hofkunst-höfische Kunst Konstantinopels in der mittelbyzantinischen Zeit*, in LAUER and MAJER, eds., *Höfische Kultur in Südosteuropa*, pp. 25-41, esp. pp. 32-33 ; P. SCHREINER, *Charakteristische Aspekte der byzantinischen Hofkultur. Der Kaiserhof in Constantinopel*, in *ibid.*, p. 12 ; C. JOLIVET-LÉVY, *Présence et figures du souverain à Sainte-Sophie de Constantinople et à l'église de la Sainte-Croix d'Aghtamar*, in MAGUIRE, ed., *Byzantine Court Culture*, pp. 231-246 ; H. MAGUIRE, *The Heavenly Court*, in IDEM, ed., *Byzantine Court Culture*, pp. 247-258.

(9) RESTLE, *Hofkunst*, pp. 32-33 ; T. STEPPAN, *Tanzdarstellungen der mittel- und spätbyzantinischen Kunst. Ursache, Entwicklung und Aussage eines Bildmotivs*, in *CA*, 45 (1997), pp. 141-168, esp. pp. 145-148, 154.

(10) Fol. 24r (I Kings 18 : 6 [J. LASSUS, *L'illustration byzantine du Livre des Rois : Vaticanus graecus 333*, Bibliothèque des Cahiers Archéologiques 9, Paris, 1973, p. 53, fig. 44]). The legend accompanying the illustration reads : Δὰδ φέρον(τ)ι τὴν κεφαλὴν Γολιὰθ αἱ χορεύουσαι τ(ὰ) μυριάδ(α)—τ(ῷ) Δ(ὰδ). (The women who chant the myriads to David, who carries Goliath's head—to David).

FIG. 1. — The exaltation of David, Book of Kings, Rome, Bibl. Apost. Vat., *Gr.* 333, ca. 1062, fol. 24r (photo : Rome, Bibl. Apost. Vat.).

ing a short *skaramangion* (11) with a golden trim, a blue cloak draped over his shoulder, and boots, and his head is surrounded by a golden halo. Followed by two armored men, he advances clutching the vanquished giant's spear, on the tip of which is Goliath's head. Eight girls in a circle dance energetically, welcoming David as he enters the city of Jerusalem. All of them wear long belted robes with short sleeves adorned with large golden bands. Their position is identical : They dance with raised arms : two of them blow on long trumpets, others play cymbals, and one drums on a timbrel.

(11) A sort of belted tunic worn underneath the *himation*, or cloak. The red color and golden trims of the *skaramangion* are imperial prerogatives (N. P. KONDAKOV, *Les costumes orientaux à la cour Byzantine*, in *Byz.*, 1 [1924], pp. 11-15).

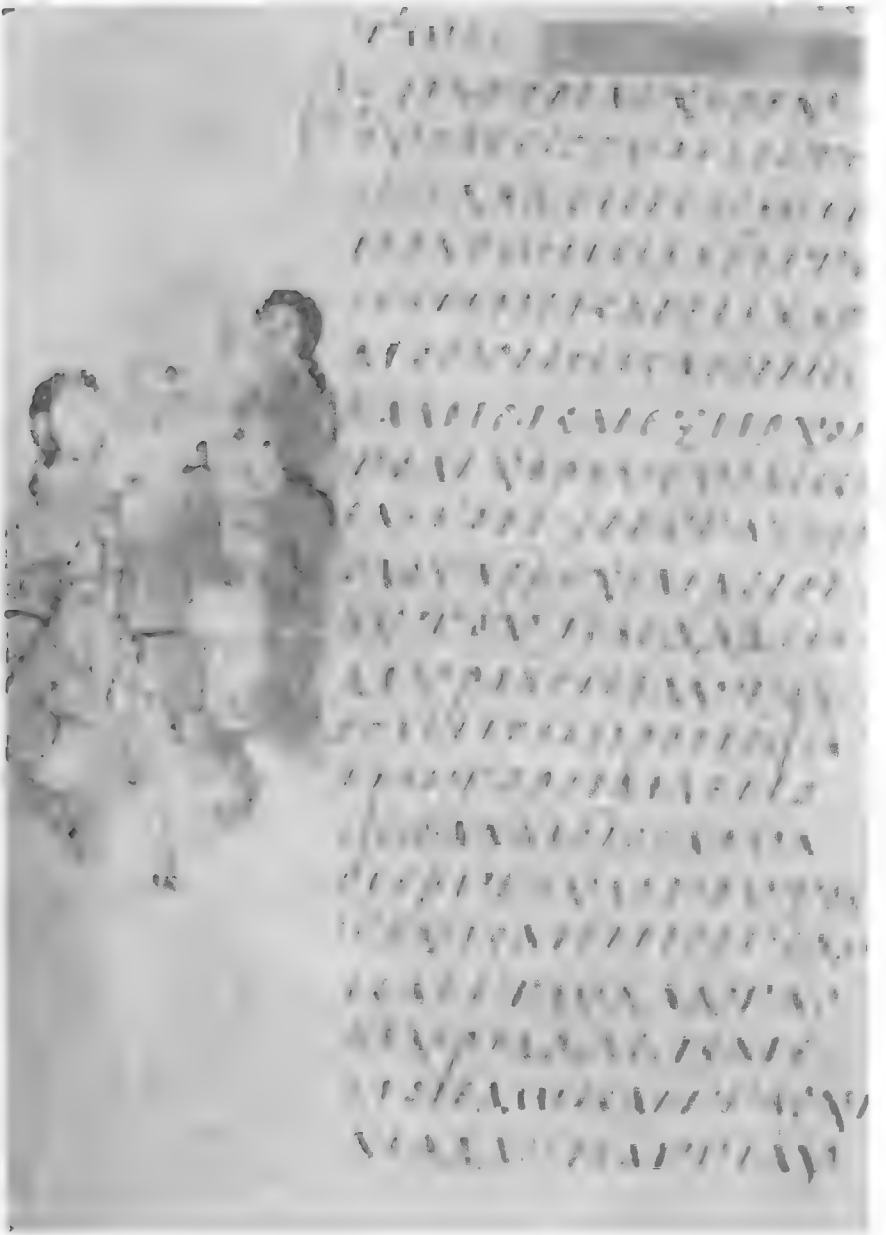

FIG. 2. — The exaltation of David, Sacra Parallela, Paris, B.N.F., *Gr.* 923, second half of ninth century, fol. 344v (photo : Paris, B.N.F).

The Parisinus *Sacra Parallela*, gr. 923, a florilegium of biblical, apocryphal, and patristic citations dated to the second half of the ninth century, preserves on folio 344v a composition resembling that of the Septuagint's 1 Kings (Fig. 2) : David, mounted on a horse and holding Goliath's head on his spear, wears a short tunic, a golden *chlamys*, the emperor's cloak, and *kampagia*, or imperial boots ([12]). Several soldiers accompany him, and two women — not eight — approach David and his entourage. Their hair is loose ; the one in the foreground plays cymbals and the other holds an unidentifiable instrument ([13]). This scene illustrates several patristic citations compiled under the title "On Suspicion," referring to the arousal of King Saul's envy of David through the dance of the women and expressed in the Septuagint's 1 Kings 18 :12 : "And Saul was alarmed on account of David" ([14]).

The exaltation of David on folio 449r in the Vatican Psalter, gr. 752, dated to 1082 (Fig. 3), illustrates yet a third text, the supernumerary Ps. 151 :6-7, in which David proclaims : "I went forth to meet the Philistine ; and he cursed me by his idols. But I drew his own sword, and beheaded him, and removed reproach from the children of Israel." The psalm narrates several episodes from the life of David. It was excluded from the Jewish canonical text but retained in an abbreviated version in the Septuagint ([15]).

David's victorious return retains the same iconographic formula we described above : David carrying Goliath's head, here with only one woman welcoming him whose pose resembles that of the dancers in the previously-mentioned miniatures. David wears a red *skaramangion* with

(12) E. PILTZ, *Middle Byzantine Court Costume*, in MAGUIRE, ed., *Byzantine Court Culture*, p. 40.

(13) K. WEITZMANN, *The Miniatures of the Sacra Parallela : Parisinus Graecus 923*, Studies in Manuscript Illumination 8, Princeton, N. J., 1979, pp. 79-80, pl. XXXII, fig. 120. One of the scenes on the ivory casket of Sens, representing the cycle of David's life, shows iconographic affinities with the illustration in the *Sacra Parallela* (*ibid.*, p. 80, n. 28). The same image is found on fol. 265r in the twelfth-century Vatican Psalter, gr. 1927 (E. T. DE WALD, *Vaticanus graecus 1927 : The Illustration in the Manuscripts of the Septuagint*, III : *Psalms and Odes*, pt. I, Princeton, N. J., 1941, p. 43, pl. LXV).

(14) JOHN CHRYSOSTOM, *Sacra Parallela*, Lit. Y, Tit. IX, *PG*, 96, col. 380.

(15) The fullest version of the apocryphal psalm appears on a roll found in Cave XI at Qumran, published by J. A. SANDERS, ed., *The Psalms Scroll of Qumran Cave 11 (11 Q Psa), Discoveries in the Desert of Jordan* IV, Oxford, 1965.

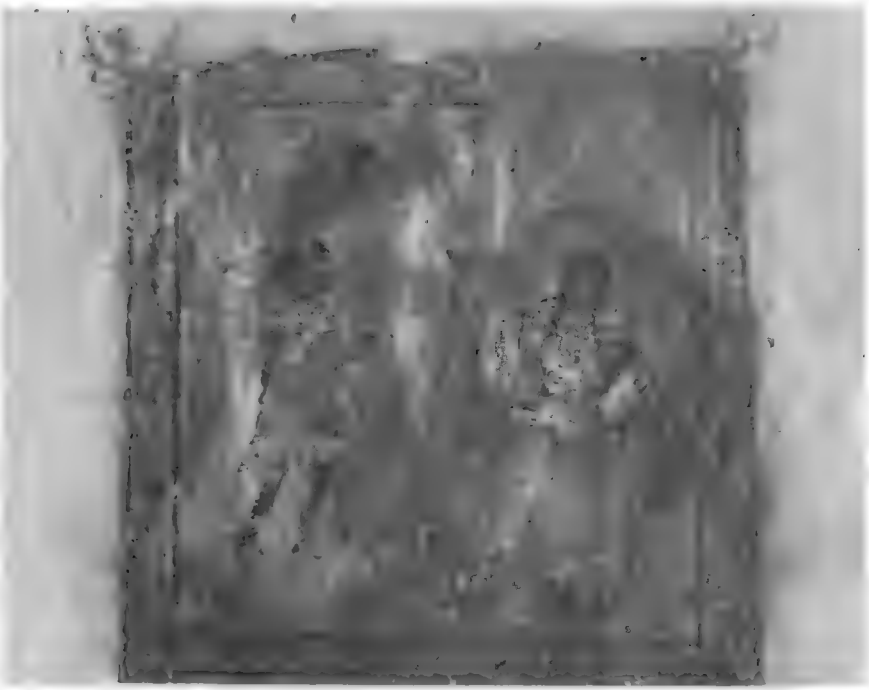

FIG. 3. — The exaltation of David, Psalter, Rome, Bibl. Apost. Vat., *Gr.* 752, 1082, fol. 449r (photo : Rome, Bibl. Apost. Vat.).

golden armbands and a gold-embroidered trim along the hem and collar. The woman's robe is richly ornate, and her head is covered with a contemporary fan-shaped headdress worn by Byzantine aristocratic ladies ([16]).

The similar posture of all the dancers and musicians we have seen until now derives from a Classical model of the maenad playing cymbals

(16) E. T. DE WALD, *Vaticanus graecus 752 : The Illustration in the Manuscripts of the Septuagint*, III, *Psalms and Odes*, pt. II, Princeton, N. J., 1942, pp. 40-41, pl. LIII. This elaborate and heavy headdress should probably be associated with the *propoloma* worn by the πατρικία ζωστή, the "mistress of the robes" or the "lady in honor" of the empress (M. EMMANUEL, *Hairstyles and Headdresses of Empresses, Princesses, and Ladies of the Aristocracy in Byzantium*, in *ΔXAE*, 17 [1993-1994], pp. 118-119).

FIG. 4. — Maenad, drawing (photo : from F. MATZ, Die Dionysischen Sarkophage, 1, Berlin, 1968).

FIG. 5. — The Dance of Daughter of Israel, Paris Psalter, Paris, B.N.F., *Gr.* 139, fol. 419v, tenth century (photo : from H. BUCHTHAL, The Miniatures of the Paris Psalter, London, 1968[2]).

appearing on Classical sarcophagi classified by F. Matz ([17]). Dressed in a draping *chiton*, she places her left leg forward and holds the musical instrument in raised arms (Fig. 4).

A full-page illumination on folio 419v of the Paris Psalter, gr. 139, dated ca. 950, also illustrates Ps. 151 :6-7 and is framed by richly colored bands (Fig. 5). This is one of seven miniatures in this manuscript illustrating the life of David ([18]). On the left, a dancer with cymbals appears before King Saul and David. She wears a draping Doric *chiton*, a band decorated with precious stones adorns her hair, and her posture is peculiar. Although her back is toward us, her head is turned so that we see her whole face ; the left hand, which is turned toward the viewer, is drawn as if it were the right one, while her right hand is drawn correctly. Her figure seems to combine two Classical types of maenads with cymbals represented on Classical sarcophagi — one seen *en face* (Fig. 4), the other from the back (Fig. 6) ([19]). King Saul, holding a lance, seems to be addressing the dancer. He has a rose nimbus, a short red tunic, armor, a blue *chlamys*, and white boots. Behind King Saul is David, whose head is turned to the right, as if leaving the grounds. David's attire includes a short white tunic with golden *clavi*, a red cloak, and white boots. In the background there are various architectural elements and a standing female figure.

The same model of the dancer is found in the only example of our scene depicted on an ivory casket preserved in the Palazzo di Venezia in Rome (Fig. 7), dated after 866, possibly 898-900 ([20]). It depicts various

(17) F. Matz, *Die Dionysischen Sarkophage*, Pt. 1 : *Die Typen der Figuren*, Berlin, 1968, p. 22, fig. 8.

(18) H. Buchthal, *The Miniatures of the Paris Psalter. A Study in Middle Byzantine Painting*, London, 1968², p. 23, pl. V. The scene is identified by the inscription : ΣΑΟΥΛ ΕΝ ΧΙΛΙΑΣΙ(Ν) (ΑΥΤΟΥ) ΚΑΙ ΔΑ(ΥΙ)Δ ΕΝ ΜΥΡΙΑΣΙ(Ν) (ΑΥΤΟΥ) ("Saul has smitten his thousands, and David his ten thousands"). The legend : ΣΑΟΥΛ appears next to the figure of Saul.

(19) Matz, *Die Dionysischen Sarkophage*, p. 33, fig. 34. The dancer seen from the back figures also in the coronation of David, in the so-called Bristol Psalter of 1000 (Ps 21 :4 ; London, B. L., Add. 40 731, fol. 33r [S. Dufrenne, *Les psautiers grecs du Moyen Age : Pantocrator 61, Paris grec 20, British Museum 40.731*, I, *Bibliothèque des Cahiers Archéologiques*, 1, Paris, 1966, pp. 55-56, pl. 49]).

(20) A. Goldschmidt-K. Weitzmann, *Die byzantinischen Elfenbeinskulpturen des X.-XIII. Jahrhunderts*, I, Berlin, 1979, p. 64, pl. LXXI, 123e.

Fig. 6. — *Maenad*, drawing (photo : from F. Matz, *Die Dionysischen Sarkophage*, 1, Berlin, 1968).

Fig. 7. — *The exaltation of David*, ivory casket, Palazzo di Venezia, c. 866 (photo : from A. Goldschmidt-K. Weitzmann, *Die byzantinischen Elfenbeinskulpturen des X.-XIII. Jahrhunderts*, I, Berlin, 1979).

scenes from the life of David, including his exaltation. Dressed as a *basileus*, he holds the Goliath's huge head in his hands and approaches Jerusalem. Two women dance before him, one of whom offers him a crown.

Psalm 151 on folio 191r in the British Library Theodore Psalter, Add. 19 372, dated to the eleventh century (Figs. 8-9), is illustrated by two scenes ([21]). In the lower margin, David, with a golden nimbus and wearing a rose *skaramangion* with a golden trim and a flowing green mantle, beheads Goliath while the last soldiers flee the battlefield. The exaltation of the Women of Israel, figured on the upper margin, depicts musical instruments that we have not yet seen : a *psalterion*, or harp, and a viol. A third musician drums on a tambourine. The bearing of the three, who are dressed in the attire of Byzantine princesses with fine nets covering their hair, is one of great tranquillity.

The text of 1 Kings 17-18 of the Septuagint recounts a radically abridged version of the story of David and Goliath, and of Saul and David, which excludes 37 verses of the Massoretic text of the Hebrew Bible, among them 17 : 55-18 : 5. The abbreviated version ([22]) links 1 Kings 17 : 54 to 18 : 6-7 and, accordingly, David's victory over Goliath to his triumphal return to Jerusalem :

> And David took the head of the Philistine, and brought it to Jerusalem ; but he put his armor in his tent ; And there came out women in dances to meet David out of all the cities of Israel, with timbrels, and with rejoic-

(21) S. DER NERSESSIAN, *L'illustration des psautiers grecs du Moyen-Age*, II : *Londres, Add. 19.352, Bibliothèque des Cahiers Archéologiques*, 5, Paris, 1970, p. 58, fig. 299. A short poem of the Psalter text accompanies the illustration : Τὸν γὰρ φυσῶντ(α) καὶ μάτην ὠγκωμέν(ον) //Θρασὺν Γολιὰθ βάρβαρον μιαιφόνο(ν) //Ῥώμῃ τε πάντων ἐξόχως ὑπερφέρει(ν) //Δοκοῦντα ῥίψας ἰδίῳ τέμνει ξίφη. ("He [David] entirely dominates he who puffs up and prides himself vainly // The insolent barbarian Goliath, soiled by murder // Having cast swords // He beheads he who appears by his own sword"). Several legends accompany the miniature : between David and the group of Philistines : Οἱ τοῦ Γολιὰθ φεύγουσιν, "Goliath's men fleeing" ; above David : Ὁ Δα(υὶ)δ ἀποκεφαλίζων τὸν Γολιὰθ, "David beheading Goliath" ; among the musicians : αἱ προεξάρχουσαι τοῦ χοροῦ, "Those who lead the chorus".

(22) The abridged version is found in the fourth-century manuscript B in the Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, where the following verses of I Kings are omitted : 17 :12-31, 41, 50, 55-58 ; 18 :1-5, 10-11, 17-19, 30 (*La Bible d'Alexandrie*, IX.$_1$: *Premier livre des règnes*, B. GRILLET *et al.*, eds., Paris, 1997, pp. 27-28, 291-292).

FIGS. 8-9. — *The exaltation of David*, Theodore Psalter, London, B.L., Add. 19 372, fol. 191r, A.D. 1066 (photo : London, British Library).

> ing, and with cymbals. And the women began the strain, and said, Saul has smitten his thousands, and David his ten thousands.

The Septuagint text, in which the Women of Israel dance in honor of King Saul as well, stands in clear opposition to the Massoretic text, wherein David is the sole recipient of their praise and jubilation.

Even though the existing iconographic formulas generally agree with the Septuagint, some elements do not have a counterpart in the text : David's golden nimbus ; his imperial attire, which contrasts with his being a humble shepherd when defeating Goliath ; the Women of Israel's portrayal as maidens (a Byzantine artistic convention depicting married women with a headdress and maidens without) ; and musical instruments not mentioned in the Septuagint. The visual deviations from the text are probably intentional, as they are meant to structure the image of the

Women of Israel dancing in honor of David to convey a Christian-imperial message alluding to the exaltation of Christ and, through it, to that of the *basileus*, the Byzantine emperor.

David holds a special place in the exegesis of the early church fathers, who interpret this figure as the archetype of Christ and his life's episodes as the prefiguration of Jesus' life. Thus, Gregory of Nyssa (ca. 330-ca. 395) speaks of David as the archetype and precursor of Christ (23) ; Gregory of Nazianzus (329/330-390) explains the combat of David against Goliath, who were armed only with a stone and a sword, as a paradigm of Divine salvation (24) ; and Theodoret of Cyrrhus (ca. 393-ca. 466) draws a parallel between David's victory over Goliath and the victory of Christ over Satan (25). Consequently, the golden nimbus surrounding David's head may point to him as a typological and sacred figure symbolizing the idea of the Redemption.

The Massoretic text of 1 Sam. 18 : 6b speaks of the women exalting David as women in general : ותצאנה הנשים ("the women came out"), while the language of the Septuagint (1 Kings 18 :6b) refers to them as χορεύουσαι ("a chorus of dancers"). However, the transition in the Septuagint from Saul to David and the fact that Saul was not mentioned in the Septuagint version drew the attention of Josephus Flavius (ca. 37-ca. 100) who, in his *Jewish Antiquities* (6.193), maintains that Saul and David were acclaimed by two choruses, the first composed of γυναῖκες (elderly women) chanting, "how Saul has slain many thousands," and the second of παρθένοι (maidens) singing, "how David destroyed tens of thousands" (26). Moreover, Josephus explains that it was the chorus of women that had ignited Saul's hatred toward David, rendering a negative connotation to their chant (27).

Following Josephus' distinction, Origen (ca. 185-254) comments about the difference between a chorus of young girls and a chorus of women :

(23) *In Inscript. Psalmorum* XIII, *PG*, 44, col. 560.

(24) *Contra Julianum* II, Or. V, *PG*, 35, col. 704 A.

(25) *Quaest. in I Regnum* XLI, *PG*, 80, col. 565-568.

(26) Although rabbinic literature and Pseudo-Philo (1st century A.D.) make reference to David's combat, they are silent regarding the identity of the dancing women welcoming David into Jerusalem (*Midrash Shemuel* 22 [ed. S. BUBER, Jerusalem, 1965², p. 108] ; PSEUDO-PHILO, *Antiquités bibliques* 61, 5, *SC*, 229, D. HARRINGTON and J. CAZEAUX, eds. and trans., Paris, 1976, p. 370]).

(27) JOSEPHUS, *Jewish Antiquities*, V. H. J. THACKERAY and R. MARCUS, eds. and trans., Loeb Classical Library, Cambridge, MA and London, 1958, pp. 262-263.

"David, blessed be he, ignited the jealousy of Saul, who had evil thoughts when he [David] marched at the head of the army and killed Goliath ; and the choruses of young girls and women were coming forth, saying : 'Saul has smitten his thousands, and David his ten thousands'" ([28]). Ambrose (ca. 339-397), for his part, refers only to maidens in his exegesis of the triumph of David in his *De apologia prophetae Dauid* : "David... delivers the nation from the dangers of a great war ([29]) and triumphs over ten thousand warriors ; so went forth the young girls singing to the beat of their tambourines." These are the young girls who acclaimed David as victorious and the prefiguration of the "souls that sing together a triumphal psalm to Christ" ([30]). In another place, these same girls are, for Ambrose, the prefiguration of the angels welcomed by Christ ([31]).

The visual representation of the Women of Israel in all our examples, save one, reinforces Ambrose's interpretation, which view them not as flesh and blood figures, but as spiritual images. Their hair, bound with fine white nets typical of maidens in Byzantium, bestows upon the dancers and the musicians equally an angelic appearance. This confers upon them an air of innocence and modesty, perhaps of spirituality ([32]).

Nevertheless, we should not forget that the artist recurrently employs the model of the Classical maenad, symbol of sensual pleasure in antiquity, which carries negative connotations of frenzy and lasciviousness ([33]) — characteristics still visualized in the figure of a maenad (Fig.

(28) Unless otherwise noted, translations from the patristic sources are those of Anne Richard, to whom I am indebted : *Hom. In Psalmos*, I, 1, *PG*, 12, col. 1322 B. ORIGEN refers elsewhere to the two choruses, in *Fragm. et cat. in Psalmos*, 36, *PG*, 17, col. 117 D. On this distinction, see also EUSEBIUS OF CAESAREA, *Com. In Psalmos*, *PG*, 23, col. 533 C ; and BASIL OF CAESAREA, *De Invidia* II, *PG*, 31, col. 376 C.

(29) Septuagint version of I Kings 17 : 32-54.

(30) Translations from Ambrose into English are my own, based on the French version in *Apologie de David* 12, *SC*, 239, P. HADOT and M. CORDIER, ed. and trans., Paris, 1977, p. 89.

(31) *Expos. In Psalmos CXVIII*, 18, 24-25, *PL*, 15, col. 1460-1461.

(32) M. EMMANUEL, *Hairstyles and Headdresses of Empresses, Princesses and Ladies of the Aristocracy in Byzantium*, in *ΔΧΑΕ*, 17 (1993-1994), pp. 113-120 ; IDEM, *Some Notes on the External Appearance of Ordinary Women in Byzantium : Hairstyles, Headdresses : Text and Iconography*, in *Bsl*, 56/3 (1995), pp. 769-778.

(33) J. N. BREMMER, *Greek Maenadism Reconsidered*, in *Zeitschrift für Papyrologie und Epigraphik*, 55 (1984), pp. 267-286, esp. p. 281.

Fig. 10. — *Maenad and satyr*, silver plate from Mildenhall Treasure, London, British Museum, second half of fourth century (photo : from E. KITZINGER, *Byzantine Art in the Making*, Cambridge, MA 1980[2]).

10) on a fourth century silver plate from Mildenhall ([34]). For this reason, the Church vehemently opposed the appearance of women dancing and

(34) E. KITZINGER, *Byzantine Art in the Making. Main Lines of Stylistic Development in Mediterranean Art 3rd-7th Century*, Cambridge, MA, 1980[2], pp. 30, 108, fig. 53. These negative traits are still echoed in an epigram from the sixth century written by PAULUS SILENTIARIUS : "Not Nature, but Art, made the Bacchant frenzied, mixing madness with the stone." (no. 57, *The Greek Anthology*, V. E. CAPPS *et al.*, eds. and trans., *Loeb Classical Library*, London and New York, 1918, p. 191).

playing music in public ([35]). In order to endow the pagan model with a spiritual quality, in the wake of the Christian spirit, the Byzantine artist obscures her traditional connotation by bestowing upon her a modest and chaste appearance ([36]). He also moderates her agitated movements and bearing to near motionlessness ([37]) as, for example, in the Theodore Psalter (Fig. 9).

The scene of the Exaltation of David is thus structured to convey a Christian message alluding to the exaltation of Christ. This allusion is further reinforced by an imperial interpretation intended to exalt the *basileus* and, more specifically, his glorious deeds over Goliath. While the theme of the David's triumph over Goliath is rather popular in early Christian and pre-iconoclastic art, and figures in all artistic domains ([38]), there is only a slight possibility that the scene of the Women exalting

(35) For a survey and summary of the existing literature on the theme of the opposition of the Eastern fathers to the dance and the music in Byzantium, see the author's *L'image de la femme biblique dans les manuscrits byzantins enluminés de la dynastie macédonienne (867-1056)*, unpublished Ph.D. diss., The Hebrew University of Jerusalem, 2001, pp. 168-171.

(36) On the chaste appearance of the Christian woman preached already in 1 Cor. 11 : 14, see e.g., TERTULLIAN, *De cultu fem.* I, 4, 1 ; II, 7, 2 (*PL* 1, col. 1308 ; 1, col. 1323) ; CLEMENT OF ALEXANDRIA, *Paedag.* III, 11, 79, 4, *PG* 8, col. 649-652.

(37) See, for example, CLEMENT OF ALEXANDRIA, who exhorts the women not to emulate the languid look and the sinuous body movements of the dancers (*Paedag.* III, 11, 68, 1, *PG,* 8, col. 647). JOHN CHRYSOSTOM reiterates a similar idea, *In Ioannem* XVIII, *PG,* 59, col. 119-120.

(38) Cfr the ivory casket from the Lipsanoteca of Brescia dated to the fourth century (J. WATSON, *The Program of the Brescia Casket*, in *Gesta,* 20/2 [1981], p. 288, fig. 4) ; several sarcophagi from the fourth century (E. LE BLANT, *Les sarcophages chrétiens de la Gaule*, Paris, 1866, no. 17, sarcophagus of Reims, p. 17 ; no. 22, sarcophagus of Vienna, p. 21, pl. V, 6 ; J. WILPERT, *I sarcofagi cristiani antichi*, I, Rome, 1929, p. 57, fig. 24) ; a scene on the wooden doors of the church of Sant'Ambroggio in Milan, end of fourth century (A. GOLDSCHMIDT, *Die Kirchentur des heiligen Ambrosius in Mailand*, Strasbourg, 1902, p. 15, fig. V) ; and two frescoes in chapel III from sixth-century Bawit (J. CLÉDAT, *Le monastère et la nécropole de Baouît*, in *Mémoire publié par les membres de la Mission archéologique française au Caire,* 12, Cairo, 1904-1906, pp. 13-24, pls. XVI-XIX). For a general study on the iconography of the cycle of David's life in medieval art, cfr G. SUCKALE-REDLEFSEN, *Die Bilderzyklen zum Davidleben von der Anfängen bis zum Ende des 11 Jahrhunderts,* Munich, 1972 ; for the evolution of the iconography of David's combat with Goliath, see T. NAGASAWA, *Notes sur l'évolution de l'iconographie du "combat de David contre Goliath", des origines au x^e siècle*, in *Byz.*, 58 (1988), pp. 123-139.

David existed in the early Christian or pre-iconoclastic art ([39]). The fact that the only extant examples of this scene are dated after the demise of the iconoclasm is probably related to the weight given to Davidic parallels in the imperial cult and panegyrical literature. This analogy is expressed, for example, in Barberini's *Euchologion*, a liturgical text written ca. 795 in which the patriarch recites a prayer over the *chlamys* during the coronation ceremony : "O Lord our God, the King of kings and Lord of lords, which through Samuel the prophet didst choose David Thy servant to be king over thy people Israel ; do Thou now also hear the supplication of (name of the emperor)... vouchsafe to anoint him with oil." ([40])

This trend continues throughout the Macedonian dynasty, when our manuscripts were published. This era witnessed a plethora of works that underscored these parallels. In an inscription on a mosaic from the palace of Kainourgion in Constantinople, the children of Basil I (867-889), founder of this dynasty, give thanks, as stated in Basil's biography : "we are thankful to thee, O Word of God, for having raised our father from Davidic poverty and having anointed him with the unction of thy Holy Ghost" ([41]). Moreover, the thematic identification is proclaimed explicitly during a carnival held in the hippodrome, when singers acclaim the emperor : "Your flourishing town (*polis*) ... calls you the new David", as Emperor Constantine VII Porphyrogenetos records in the *Book of Ceremonies*, a treatise on court ceremony compiled by him for the glorification of the emperor and his court ([42]).

In our illustrations, the imperial exaltation is visualized through David's imperial attire : the *chlamys*, the emperor's parade garb, in the *Sacra Parallela* ; the red *skaramangion* in the Vatican Psalter or that in

(39) K. WEITZMANN and H. KESSLER maintain that the empty space behind David in the fresco depicting his combat appearing in the baptistery of Dura-Europos, dated before 256, was intended for the representation of the group of Israelite women (*The Frescoes of Dura Synagogue and Christian Art*, [*Dumbarton Oaks Studies*, 28], Washington, D.C., 1990, pp. 84-87, 145-46, fig. 116).

(40) Translated by R. E. BRIGHTMAN, *Byzantine Imperial Coronations*, in *Journal of Theological Studies*, 2 (1901), p. 380.

(41) C. MANGO, *The Art of the Byzantine Empire 312-1453. Sources and Documents*, Toronto, 1993[3], p. 198.

(42) *De cer.* II, 82 (73), CONSTANTIN PORPHYROGÉNÈTE, *Le livre des Cérémonies*, II/1, edited and translated by A. VOGT, Paris, 1939, p. 167.

the Vatican Book of Kings ; and the short broad-striped tunic in the Paris Psalter. The dancers' and musicians' garments point to an imperial or aristocratic status as well. Both David's and the women's attire appear in the imperial colors of white, gold, red, green, or blue, hinting once again to the Byzantine court ([43]).

Moreover, the existence of the imperial panegyric in art is strongly emphasized on one of the panels of the ivory casket from Palazzo di Venezia depicting an imperial couple crowned by Christ (Fig. 11). This couple is convincingly identified as Emperor Basil I and his wife Eudokia Ingerina, and the scenes of David's life are interpreted as an elaborate comparison relating to this emperor ([44]).

Bearing in mind the contemporary written sources and iconographic analysis, we may reasonably interpret the biblical scene of David's exaltation by the women of Israel as the glorification of the *basileus* ([45]). The Israelite women, then, represent the figure of the Byzantine citizens

(43) The comparison between David and the *basileus* in Macedonian art is further corroborated by the illustration of David in the guise of a Byzantine emperor — *chlamys*, *skaramangion* and *kampagia* — standing between the personifications of Wisdom and Prophecy on folio 7v in the Paris Psalter, *Gr.* 139, an image probably referring to Emperor Constantine VII Porphyrogenetos, who ruled between 945-959 (BUCHTHAL, *The Paris Psalter*, p. 25, fig. 7).

(44) A. GOLDSCHMIDT-K. WEITZMANN, *Die byzantinischen Elfenbeinskulpturen*, p. 64, pl. LXX, 123a. The casket may have been made by the command of Emperor Basil I for his future wife Eudoxia Ingerina after his nomination in 866 (MAGUIRE, *Art of Comparing*, p. 91 ; KALAVREZOU, *A New Type of Icon : Ivories and Steatites*, in *Constantine Porphyrogenitus and His Age, Second International Byzantine Conference*, Delphi, 1987, pp. 377-396 ; Athens, pp. 392-396). However, A. CUTLER and N. OIKONOMIDES argue that this work of art may have been commanded by Emperor Leo VI "the Sage" for his wife Eudoxia Baiana on the occasion of his third marriage in 900 (*An Imperial Byzantine Casket and Its Fate at a Humanist's Hands*, in *Art Bulletin*, 70 [1988], pp. 84-85). For more visual parallels between David and Basil I, see L. BRUBAKER, *Vision and Meaning in Ninth-century Byzantium. Image as Exegesis in the Homilies of Gregory of Nazianzus*, Cambridge, Eng., 1998, pp. 185-193, with an extensive bibliography.

(45) Compare e.g. the article of MAGUIRE, *Davidic Virtue : The Crown of Constantine Monomachos and its Image*, in *Jewish Art : The Real and Ideal Jerusalem in Jewish, Christian and Islamic Art*, 23-24 (1997-1998), pp. 117-123, arguing that the dancers depicted on the so-called Crown of Constantine Monomachos dated to 1042-1050, may stand for the daughters of Israel welcoming King David, their dance illustrating motifs of imperial panegyric such as the virtues of truth and Davidic humility.

FIG. 11. — *Coronation of Basil I and Eudokia Ingerina* (?), ivory casket, lid, Rome, Palazzo Venezia, ca. 866 (photo: from A. GOLDSCHMIDT-K. WEITZMANN, *Die byzantinischen Elfenbeinskulpturen des X.-XIII. Jahrhunderts*, I, Berlin, 1979)

acclaiming the emperor's *adventus* (the triumphal return of David) after having valiantly (46) lifted the shame that the enemies (Goliath) had shed on Byzantium (Israel). This idea is conveyed through the middle

(46) One of the characteristic traits expected of an emperor during the eleventh century is bravery in the battlefield (M. ANGOLD, ed., *The Byzantine Aristocracy IX to XIII Centuries*, *B.A.R. International Series*, 221, Oxford, 1984, pp. 45-46).

Byzantine imperial attire of both David and the women, which functions as the visual link between the biblical episode and the *basileus*, and reflects the Byzantine imperial political philosophy and panegyric. The most enlighting example is undoubtedly the sole dancer wearing a fan-shaped headdress in the Vatican Psalter, gr. 752. This contemporary headdress, worn by aristocratic ladies, is not incidental, as it bears a celebrational character, probably related to the *tufa*, the crown worn by the emperor during imperial triumphs ([47]).

The puzzling existence of the musical instruments played by the maidens — trumpet, *psalterion* (harp), and cymbal — can also be associated with the imperial *adventus*. The Septuagint mentions tambourines and "cymbals," the latter being translated from the Hebrew שלישים, an enigmatic *hapax legomenon*. From antiquity through the twelfth century, the musical instrument in use *par excellence* for the imperial *adventus* was the trumpet. Anna Comnena (1083-1153) tells us that her father Alexis I Comnenus was acclaimed upon his entrance to Nicaea after seizing the city "...to the accompaniment of trumpets and horns" ([48]). The importance of music in the imperial *adventus* is visualized in an illumination on folio 145r(b) in the Madrid *Chronicle of John Skylitzes* dated to the thirteenth century (Fig. 12), illustrating the triumphal entrance of Emperor Nikephoros II Phokas into Constantinople ([49]). A musical band playing trumpets, a tambourine, and a *psalterion* welcomes him.

In conclusion, the image of the Women of Israel in Macedonian illuminated manuscripts is probably an artistic invention intended to reflect the Davidic parallels with the emperor and to emphasize the contemporary history and the imperial ideology. Dancer and musician, movement and musical instruments all merge into one image conveying the link between celestial harmonious rule and imperial majesty. This is certainly the reason why David, and not Saul (as indicated in the Bible), was depicted as their only addressee of exaltation upon his victorious return

(47) EMMANUEL, *Hairstyles and Headdresses*, p. 119.

(48) *Alexiade* XI, ii (*The Alexiad of Anna Comnena*, translated by E.R.A. SEWTER, Harmondsworth, 1987[5], p. 338).

(49) Madrid, Bibl. Nac., Vitr. 26-2, fol. 145(b), 13th century (A. GRABAR and M. MANOUSSACAS, *L'illustration du manuscrit de Skylitzès de la Bibliothèque Nationale de Madrid*, Venise, 1979, p. 85, fig. 368). Originating probably in southern Italy, it is the only manuscript illustrating the Byzantine Chronicle of John Skylitzes (fl. second half eleventh century), which primarily records the history of the rule of Byzantine emperors from 811 to 1057.

FIG. 12 *Triumphal entrance of Emperor Nikephoros II Phokas into Constantinople*, Chronicle of John Skylitzes, Madrid, Bibl. Nac., Vitr. 26-2, fol. 145(b), thirteenth century (photo : from H. EVANS and W. WIXOM, eds., *The Glory of Byzantium*, exhibition catalogue, The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, 1997)

to Jerusalem. Represented mostly in a virginal likeness, the young girls welcoming David represent an idealized image of the dancer/musician, conveying a spiritual dimension to the biblical illustration. They incarnate the Christian idea of the faith's souls praising the Lord. The imperial attire of the biblical king, as well as their own, connects them to the imperial panegyric, which identifies David with the figure of the *basileus*. Thus, the biblical figures acquire a contemporary quality that alludes to the Byzantine subjects acclaiming their sovereign, whose imperial rule, guided by God, is sage and harmonious, his victory over foes exalted.

The biblical image, in its panegyrical purpose, is, in fact, an imperial one in disguise, attesting to a contemporary Byzantine religious and political vision. On the one hand, the image of the Women of Israel voices the glorification of the imperial status through this relationship with Christ. On the other, it translates into iconographic terms the imperial warrior's deeds and the emperor's bravery and victory over the foes of the Empire.

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BYZANTINE LETTERS IN STONE (*)

Fragmentary, funerary, and dispersed through unusual sources, early Byzantine inscriptions have attracted little attention. The intent of this review is to illustrate some of their potential for dating monuments. Creative masons revived old letters, and invented new ones. They began to use unique kinds of A, B, D, and M after 400 AD. They revived dormant forms of O P, W, Y and OY after 450. Calligraphic characters offer later postquems. They can identify sixth century works of art in surprising places.

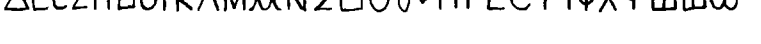
Every culture develops combinations of speech and writing unique unto itself. Distinguishing Byzantine (after 300 AD) from late classical Greek is an intricate science. A sentence may mention people, laws, or literature known from other sources. Common names and phrases evolved over time, as did grammar and spelling. These signs can suggest broad dates, within a century or two.

People of the near east continued to record the year on stone. Judging from the surviving record, the Syrians converted ruins into new buildings at a pace that peaked in the early sixth century AD. Palestinians sustained the revival somewhat longer (1). Their inscriptions reveal how letters evolved. The role of Aegean masons in this process remains open to interpretation, for they seldom dated their work.

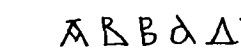
(*) n° marks inscriptions numbered by the authors ; 'fig.' indicates a figure, photo, or plate.

(1) Peak circa 500 documented by G. TATE throughout *Les campagnes de la Syrie*, Paris, 1992. For Palestine, see L. DISEGNI, *The Roman and Byzantine Near East*, Ann Arbor, 1995, vol. II, pp. 160-163.

Late antique people liked to carve poetry in simple round letters (2). The content of each message took priority over its appearance. Informal engravings began to replace ornate, well-aligned ones. By 500 AD the monumental characters illustrated above had disappeared.



As monumental forms receded, others came to the surface. A humble style made the words familiar to the average viewer. Engravers used a simple alphabet, more angular than handwriting (above). It remained commonplace for several centuries. The crowded appearance is deliberate. Late antique masons tended to fill every space. They also liked to vary letter size and shape from one word to the next (3). They preferred a spontaneous appearance. Amateur masons had their own style, or lack thereof.



The characters illustrated above had ancient ancestors (4). Most originated within a specific context. Sculptors who added serifs to their inscriptions might put a bar on top of an A. Scribes and ornamental engravers sometimes underlined their Bs and Δs. These decorative forms

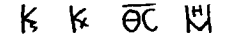
(2) Prose vs. poetry : L. ROBERT, *Hellenica IV* : *Epigrammes du Bas-Empire*, Limoges, 1940, p. 58 ; C. ROUECHE in *Actes du X Congrès International d'Epigraphie* (1992), pp. 356-368.

(3) Engravers of the Roman era occasionally sprinkled their texts with oversized and miniature letters. Some examples : P. FRISCH, *Die Inschriften von Ilion*, Bonn, 1975, n° 103 ; R. HODDINOTT, *Bulgaria in Antiquity*, New York, 1975, p. 203 ; *Liber Annuus*, 38 (1988) plate 7. Alternating sizes and shapes became a late antique feature : C. ROUECHE, *Aphrodisias in Late Antiquity*, London, 1989, pp. 331-332. Notice the A, E and O in these inscriptions : *Fouilles de Delphes*, Paris, 1932, tome III : 4, n° 473 ; J. REYNOLDS, *Jews and Godfearers*, Cambridge, 1987, pp. 16, 18 ; *Israel Exploration Journal*, 24 (1974) fig. 19 ; *Mitteilungen des Deutschen Archaologischen Instituts Athenische*, 66 : 2 (1941) fig. 41 ; *Inschriften von Milet*, Berlin, 1997, Band VI : 1, fig 16 ; ROUECHE, *Aphrodisias*, n° 83.4.

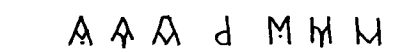
(4) Early examples of slanted d, dotted i : *Byz., 20* (1950) pp.110-15, 136. B with flat base : H. BELL, *Fragments of an unknown Gospel*, London, 1935, p.1. K with short arms : E. BERNAND, *Recueil des Inscriptions du Fayoum*, Leiden, 1975, tome III, n° 204 ; W. LARFELD, *Handbuch der Griechischen Epigraphik*, Leipzig, 1892, vol. I, table 3. Various : ROUECHE, *Aphrodisias*, p. 332.

would stand out if sprinkled among simpler letters. Late antique masons, who lived in towns encrusted with obsolete inscriptions, did not mind mixing incongruous forms. They might separate the lobes of a B, dot the I, shorten the arms of a K, or miniaturize the x. Uncial 'd' shapes could be used for either alpha or delta. Inscriptions incorporating one or more of these offbeat characters grew increasingly common in the fifth century AD.

In an age when amateurs mixed letters freely, carvings with one or two long based deltas are rather widely diffused through time. The more are underlined, the later an engraving is likely to be. Statistics in this article are based on inscriptions that use a specific shape more than half the time. This standard screens out the accidental and ambiguous. When the majority of the deltas have long bases, the mason probably planned them. Based on this criterion, stone texts combining simple letters with underlined deltas can be given a rough *post quem*. Nearly all of them were carved after 350 AD. The same can be said for other members of the family.



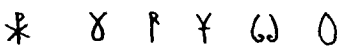
In a gesture to the newly literate, late antique masons had minimized shorthand (5). From diverse ancestors, they selected a few conventions. Sparingly, they replaced the last letters of selected words with a final S, or a slash. Examples made from the word 'kai' can be seen above. Occasionally they dropped the middle, and placed a bar over the first and last letters, as in the case of 'Theos'. They condensed the word for day by placing a small H over an M. With each decade, fifth century masons applied similar abbreviations to more words. Inscriptions combining three of these techniques belong to the sixth and seventh centuries.



The trend towards simplicity was silently reversed. After half a millennium of conservatism, the alphabet began to evolve. The characters illustrated above were virtually unknown on Greek engravings before the fifth century. As *novel* letters they offer sturdy dates. For example, the

(5) M. Avi-Yonah, *Abbreviations on Greek Inscriptions*, Jerusalem, 1940 (supplement to *Quarterly of the Department of Antiquities* IX), pp. 14-5, 43. Revived shorthand : pp. 15-8, 35-44.

first dated inscription with a majority of dotted As was laid in 447 AD (fig. 2). Using the majority criterion, inscriptions using two (or more) different novel characters were cut after 450.



Late classical sculptors sometimes joined letters together at the waist. Engravers with the common reader in mind snuffed this practice (6). Fourth century masons *ligatured* only the chi-rho (above left). Ligatured OYs (second from left) cannot be documented for some time after 312 AD. Old stones preserved an otherwise forgotten symbol. When the Syrians rebuilt their towns, they noticed the OY monogram. Hesitantly, they began to copy it. The black graph in figure 1 illustrates this process. Over ninety-nine percent of Byzantine OYs were cut after 500 AD. The proportion of inscriptions featuring them continued to increase. It remained popular into modern times.

It would be hard to find a unique significance for the OY, as it had company. Engravers *revived* the tailed rho, looped omega, and barred upsilon after 450 AD as well (7). Drop-shaped omicrons reappeared a little later than the others. The white graph in figure 1 illustrates when this took

(6) AVI-YONAH pp.13, 43 ; LARFELD, *Handbuch,* p. 513.

(7) In Epirus, the standard P had a tail, about half as long as the Roman R. It diffused into the Aegean before fading away in the third century AD. Christian masons sometimes added tails to chi-rho symbols. They were used in engraved words again after 447 AD (M. DONDERER, *Die Mosaizisten,* Erlangen, 1989, taf. 17).

Looped omegas were usually closed at the top during the classical era. Byzantine ones could be open at both top and bottom. They first appeared in an inscription published by R. HEBERDEY, *Reisen in Kilikien*, p. 89. The date has been revised to 448 AD : *Bulletin de Correspondence Hellénique*, 108 (1984) p. 564.

Barred Ys, popular in the second century, became uncommon during the fourth. ROUECHE, *Aphrodisias* n° 19 is one of the few survivors. They reappeared in force after 473 AD. See W. PRENTICE, *Greek and Latin Inscriptions* (*American Archaeological Expedition to Syria,* III), New York, 1908, p. 3, and p. 190, n° 217).

Most Byzantine stones using these letters consistently belong to the sixth century AD.

place (8). If mosaic inscriptions were added, the sixth century peak would double. Artists wove drop shapes into decoration as well, making them one of the trademarks of the age.

Letter combinations can reinforce the dates suggested. Masons started to put novel and revived forms together in the same inscriptions after 450 AD. They mixed drop Os, ligatured OYs and looped Ws in the sixth century (9). Earlier, securely dated examples have yet to be published.

Because revived letters followed classical precedents, epigraphists have not used them for dating. Dozens of inscriptions featuring them have been attributed to the period 300-500 AD. Few of them actually belong there. Can we separate the classical from the Byzantine ? Archaeological context, language, and religious symbols usually make the distinction. For example, the first Christians preferred simple letters. Early tombs marked by a chi-rho avoided drop Os and OYs. So did the first epitaphs to feature a cross. Revived letters began to infiltrate Christian inscriptions after 450 AD. Tailed Ps hidden within chi-rhos are the only exceptions to this rule (10).

Evidence from independent sites suggests that provincial workshops contributed to the evolving alphabet. The emperors followed a neutral course by allowing local artisans to carve their announcements. Edicts of Anastasius used basic, round letters with little shorthand (11). Justinian's

(8) Inscriptions in figure 1 meet strict criteria : (a) They can be dated within plus or minus ten years. Most quote the year in a local era matching the indiction. Some refer to officials with unique names and titles, known from other sources. A few cases are based on calculations by MANGO, FEISSEL, DISEGNI, and MEIMARIS. (b) More than half the omicrons are clearly rounded on the bottom and pointed at the top. (c) Epigraphists' comments on OYs accepted in lieu of photographs. Inscriptions after 550 tend to use them several times.

(9) First example of drop Os together with OYs : D. FEISSEL, *Recueil des inscriptions chrétiennes de Macédoine,* Paris, 1993, n° 131. Drop O with looped W : C. CLERMONT-GANNEAU, *Archeological Researches in Palestine,* London, 1896, vol. II, p. 404 n° 5 ; L. JALABERT, R. MOUTERDE, J. REY-COQUAIS, M. SARTRE *et al., Inscriptions Grecques et Latines de la Syrie,* Paris, 1929-1986, n° 9128, 9130A. Occasionally, classical texts mixed drop Os with tailed Ps, as illustrated by C. ROUECHE, *Performers and Partisans,* London, 1993, n° 75.

(10) Early Christian : *Byz.,* 2 (1925) p. 337 ; C. COX, *Monumenta Asiae Minoris Antiqua,* London, 1993, vol. X, p. XXXVI ; *Anatolian Studies,* 5 (1955) pp. 26-35 ; E. GIBSON, *The Christians for Christians Inscriptions,* Missoula, 1958.

(11) Anastasius' edicts : *Annual of the Department of Antiquities,* 26 (1982), p. 145. JALABERT et al., *Inscriptions Grecques et Latines de la Syrie,* n° 9045-6 ; *Bulletin de Correspondance Hellénique,* 108 (1984), p. 582 ; J. REYNOLDS,

announcements show more diversity. Some maintained simple traditions, and others reflected the trends of the time. While they demonstrate no official policy, certain masons hired by imperial agents brought drop Os to distant towns ([12]).

To see the role played by local workshops, it is worth looking at each part of the empire.

The Balkans. Unlike their ancestors, Greece's later masons seldom recorded the year on stone. References to high officials make it possible to date some epitaphs. A sculptor in Thessaloniki carved drop Os a decade before they appeared in Palestine ([13]). Engravers in several Balkan cities adopted them after 525 AD ([14]) (and fig. 4). They echoed a style popular under the Severi ([15]). They reveal a luxury tradition, and patrons who could maintain it, outside Constantinople.

Classical mosaicists had laid brief inscriptions, and their characters were usually simple. The letters revived on stone were new to mosaic. They began to appear on church walls at Durres and Thessaloniki. Ligatured letters adorned the dome of Ayios Yeoryios. The apse of Osios David featured crosses inside its omegas ([16]). Pavements at Delphi,

Apollonia (Libya Antiqua supplement 4), Tripoli, 1964, n° 37 ; M. GUARDUCCI, *Epigrafia Greca,* Rome, 1967-1978, vol. IV, p. 408 ; E. HERZFELD, *Monumenta Asiae Minoris Antiqua*, Manchester, 1930, vol. III, n° 197

(12) Drop Os : *Bulletin de la Société Nationale des Antiquaires* (1988), p. 132 ; JALABERT, *Inscriptions,* n° 9128-9136.

(13) Drop Os : FEISSEL, *Recueil,* n° 131. Syria : JALABERT, *Inscriptions,* n° 1851. Palestine : see note 27.

(14) Thessaloniki : FEISSEL, *Recueil,* n° 81, 131-35. Many engravings in his collection feature drop Os and OYs. Ligatures appear with n° 60, 110, 172. Corinth : J. KENT, *The Inscriptions (Corinth,* vol. VIII, 3*)*, Princeton, 1966 n° 508, 517, 541, 552, 573, 644, 682 ; *Bulletin de Correspondance Hellénique*, 104 (1980), p. 591 ; *TM* 9 (1985) pp. 290, 277. There are additional OYs in *Corinth*, VIII, 1. Other cities : V. BESEVLIEV, *Spatgriechische und Spatlateinische Inschriften,* Berlin, 1964, n° 89, 97, 107-9, 148, 222-7, 249 ; *TM*, 10 (1987), p. 359 ; I. BARNEA, *Christian Art in Romania,* Bucharest, 1979, vol. I, pp. 63, 91. 95,18.

(15) Compare Byzantine (as in notes 14, 21-3) with these Severan stones : C. KRAELING, *Gerasa of the Decapolis,* New Haven, 1944, n° 26, 131, 149-58, 170 ; T. MITFORD, *The Inscriptions of Kourion*, Philadelphia, 1971, p. 179.

(16) Durres : R. CORMACK, *Writing in Gold,* London, 1985, p. 84. Ayios Yeoryios : FEISSEL, *Recueil,* n° 110 ; *CA*, 30 (1982), pp. 26, 31, 41 note 2. Osios David : FEISSEL, n° 103B ; R. HODDINOTT, *Early Byzantine Churches,* London, 1963, color figure VIII. Ayios Demetrios : HODDINOTT, fig. 29-33 and color fig. VII.

Thebes and Tegea added other novelties ([17]) (and fig. 5). Letters containing tiny crosses developed in the sixth century, after the date assumed for some of these mosaics. Did Greece march several steps ahead of the rest of the empire ? Aegean sculptors seem to have revived the drop O first, while ligatured OYs and looped Ws appeared earlier in other provinces. More evidence is needed.

Constantinople. Conscious of tradition, engravers of the capital waited for trends to become respectable before adopting them. Monuments made before 550 AD seem free of revived letters. The only exception is a consular diptych. Epitaphs near the city document drop Os and OYs in the second half of the century ([18]). In the meantime a wealthy patron sponsored novel Es with downward hooks (above left) ([19]). Mid-century silversmiths began to cross their Es and Ws ([20]). These ornamental letters would influence mosaics throughout the Byzantine period.

Anatolia and Cyprus. Masons at Ephesos, Sardis, Synnada, and Side produced elegant Byzantine engravings using revived characters ([21]). In

(17) Delphi, Thebes, and Tegea : M. SPIRO, *Critical Corpus of the Mosaic Pavements,* New York, 1978, vol. II, fig. 241, 272, 226-235, 206-216. Date revised in *TM,* 9 (1985), p. 297. Other pavements : FEISSEL, *Recueil,* n° 214 ; SPIRO, fig. 95, 136-145, 493, 545.

(18) Revived letters : *Bulletin de Correspondance Hellénique*, 118 (1994), p. 279, note 33 ; 46 (1922), p. 357 ; 119 (1995), p. 381 ; *Charisterion eis Anastasion K. Orlandon,* Athens, 1965, vol. I, p. 329, fig. 1. Filoxenos diptych of 525 AD : on display at Dumbarton Oaks, Washington. Conservative inscriptions : *DOP,* 32 (1978), p. 3 n° 21 ; 21 (1967), p. 278 fig. 7-10 ; A. CAMERON, *Porphyrius the Charioteer,* Oxford, 1973 ; D. RICE, *Art of the Byzantine Era*, London, 1963, p. 54.

(19) Circa 520 AD, Juliana Anicia sponsored a Dioscurides manuscript (R. BARBOUR, *Greek Literary Hands,* Oxford, 1981, p. 1) and St. Polyeuctos (*DOP,* 21 [1967] p. 278 fig. 7-10).

(20) Crossed E and W : L. SAFRAN, *Heaven on Earth,* University Park, 1998, pp. 156-8 ; color fig. VIIA.

(21) Anatolia : W. BUCKLER, *Greek and Latin Inscriptions (Sardis,* vol. VII : 1*)*, Leyden, 1932, n° 19 ; H. WANKEL, *Die Inschriften von Ephesos,* Bonn, 1979, Band Ia, n° 38 ; M. GUARDUCCI, *Epigrafia Greca,* vol. IV, p. 401 ; G. BEAN, *The Inscriptions of Side,* Ankara, 1965, n° 87-90 ; W. CALDER, *Monumenta Asiae Minoris Antiqua,* Manchester, 1928-1962, vol. IV, n° 94-102 (note the Ns with wavy crossbars).

Aphrodisias a dozen inscriptions feature consistent drop Os. Three are epigrams to commend governors for their buildings ([22]). Until now they have been attributed to the fifth century. Masons in lesser towns picked up the new style as well ([23]). In Cilicia, the town of Korasion was once believed to be short-lived. Yet a third of its Christian epitaphs bear ligatured OYs. The total approaches one half at Korikos ([24]). Revived letters mark Christian inscriptions of Cilician Aphrodisias, Misis, Anemurium, Kourion and Salamis ([25]).

Syria. Here the custom of recording the year in stone endured. Most engravers continued to use simple, square letters. Nevertheless, small town masons generated nearly half the evidence seen in fig. 1. They added tails to Ps and ligatured their OYs in the mid-fifth century. After 560, OY monograms tended to crowd out every O. Other revived characters made less of an impression. Syrian floor makers used them sparingly (fig. 2). They can identify unsuspected sixth century mosaics in Antioch, central Syria, and Lebanon ([26]).

(22) ROUECHE, *Aphrodisias,* n° 43, 62, 83v-vii, 87, 100, 116, 158 ; n° 38-40 are epigrams for governors. Compare a large engraving of 480 AD which uses drop Os *almost* half the time : *TM,* 12 (1994), p. 263, fig 5. It suggests the trend began in this province. Letters on the tondos (R. SMITH, *Aphrodisias Papers,* Ann Arbor, 1991, vol. II, p.147) suggest dates after 450.

(23) Revived letters : W. CALDER, *Monumenta Asiae Minoris Antiqua,* Manchester, 1928-1962, vol. IV, n° 33-37 ; vol. V, n° 310-312 ; vol. VII, n° 179, 190, 565-591 ; *Epigraphica Anatolica,* 25 (1995), p. 93 ; T. CORSTEN, *Die Inschriften von Apameia und Pylai,* Bonn, 1987, n° 128-135 ; S. SAHIN, *Bithynische Studien,* Bonn, 1978, fig. 8, 10 ; *Tituli Asiae Minoris,* Vienna, 1901, vol. V, 1, n° 46.

(24) Korasion and Korykos : HERZFELD, *Monumenta Asiae Minoris Antiqua,* vol. III, n° 113-197, 212-788.

(25) Cilicia : J. RUSSELL, *The Mosaic Inscriptions of Anemurium,* Vienna, 1987, plate 11 ; L. BUDDE, *St. Panteleon,* Recklinghausen, 1987, fig. 93-99, 134. Cyprus : *DOP,* 30 (1976), p. 345, fig. 13 ; T. MITFORD, *The Inscriptions of Kourion,* pp. 352-356 (note Ps with tails) ; T. MITFORD, *Greek and Latin Inscriptions from Salamis (Salamis VI),* Nicosia, 1994, fig. VI-XI ; *Byz.,* 20 (1950), pp. 105-172.

(26) Antioch mosaics : D. LEVI, *Antioch Mosaic Pavements,* Princeton, 1947, vol. II. Revived letters fill the Biblical Inscription. Look closely for Ps with tails (fig. 131). The Megalopsychia floor uses them all, if not consistently (fig. 76-80). Both floors attributed to the mid-fifth century, a bit early for these characters. More Syrian mosaics : P. CANIVET, *Huarte : Sanctuaire chrétien,* Paris, 1987, tome II, p. 163 ; *Mélanges de l'Université Saint Joseph,* 22, 1 (1939), p. 24, fig. 15-18 ; P. DONCEEL-VOUTE, *Les pavements des églises,* Louvain-la-Neuve, 1988,

Palestine. This province reveals distinct local traditions. Engravers introduced looped Ws in 455, and drop Os by 516 AD ; OYs followed. Letters on tombstones indicate a sixth century date for inscriptions like the Beersheba edict ([27]). Receptive to new impulses, local artisans continued to carve Greek epitaphs throughout the seventh century as well.

Mosaics illustrate the emerging Byzantine alphabet with clarity and precision (fig. 3). Circa 500, artisans favored double-pointed omicrons ([28]). Pavements with revived letters began in 519, and most belong to the second half of the sixth century. In addition to the floors in figure 3, they decorate mosaics of twenty other towns in Israel and Jordan ([29, 30]). Five buildings with these pavements are located in Bet Shean alone ([31]).

p. 489 ; *Syria,* 66 (1989), p. 326 ; *Syria,* 69 (1992), p.186 ; *Supplementum Epigraphicum Graecorum,* 1993, n° 1045a (on display at Aleppo museum).

(27) Drop O : *Revue Biblique,* 1903, p. 427, n° 4 is actually of 516 AD. For more about the Gaza era, see Y. MEIMARIS, *Chronological Systems,* Paris, 1992, pp. 118, 127, n° 117.

Looped W : KRAELING, *Gerasa,* n° 296. Most examples of this letter come from Jordan. Ligatured OY : G. BOTTINI, *Christian Archaeology in the Holy Land,* Jerusalem, 1990, p. 382.

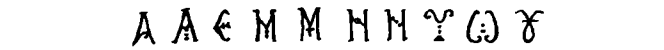
Beer Sheba edict : *Revue Biblique*, 1906, p. 88 ; *Revue Biblique*, 1920, p. 261 ; Reviewed by H. COLT, *Excavations at Nessana,* Princeton, 1950, vol. III, p. 22. The Os are uniform. Compare it to local engravings of 516-565 AD, published in *Revue Biblique,* 1903, pp. 275, 427, n° 4 (516 AD) ; 1904, p. 269 ; 1905, pp. 248, 253 n° 13 ; P. FIGUERAS, *Byzantine Inscriptions,* Be'er Sheva, 1985, n° 27-28.

(28) Double pointed Os, used during many eras, became common on Byzantine floor mosaics around 500 AD. They adorn pavements at the governor's office in Caesarea, four churches of Gerasa, and two in Shiloh. More examples are known at Madaba, Umm Qeis, Jbeiha, Mamsis ; Awsai and Beit Mery in Lebanon ; Antioch and Apamea in Syria ; Karlik and Misis in Cilicia ; Sandanski in Bulgaria.

(29) Mosaics with revived letters have been found at Shiqmona, Tabga, Caesarea (three sites), Qolonia, Haditha, Emmaus, Jerusalem, Choziba, Beer Sheba (two sites), Gaza, Sobata, Gerasa (two sites), Khirbet Dariya, Zay, Khattabiyeh, Amman, Madaba, Mount Nebo, Ayoun Musa, Massuh, Ma'in (two sites), Umm er-Rasas, and Petra. More, as in note 30, remain unpublished.

(30) Mosaic at Beer Sheba : photo studied courtesy of Jacques Neguer, Rockefeller Museum. The date reads 354, indiction 1. There were three local eras : see MEIMARIS, *Chronological Systems* pp. 27, 118, 136, 305. Eleutheropolis' year corresponds with indiction 1 (MEIMARIS p. 32). Perhaps the Stephen mentioned here became priest at Be'er Shema (note 34).

(31) Bet Shean : *Excavations and Surveys,* 6 (1987-8), p. 15, revised in *DOP,* 51 (1997), pp. 116-17.



When it came to abstract design, the near east had long been a center of creativity. Artisans filled Palestine's pavements with intricate patterns. Circa 570, they started to introduce the mosaic characters illustrated above. Concentrated on the Arab frontier, they anticipated Islamic and Byzantine calligraphy. They offer late sixth century *post quems* for chapels near Jerusalem ([32]), Madaba ([33]) (with fig. 6), and Gaza ([34]).

Africa. Like Greece, Egypt has preserved few dated inscriptions from late antiquity. Those that survive seem remarkably conservative. In Tunisia and Mauritania, Greeks influenced the shape of the Latin D, L, and R ([35]) (with fig. 7). Zeta and stigma sometimes replaced the Roman S. Teardrop Os reappeared in small numbers by the sixth century ([36]). Some African artists emulated the calligraphic style emerging in the east.

R. OVADIAH, *Mosaic Pavements in Israel*, Rome, 1987, fig. 25, 28, 31 ; G. FITZGERALD, *A Sixth Century Monastery*, Philadelphia, 1939, fig. 21-22.

(32) Greater Jerusalem's sites include Dominus Flevit, Third Wall (two places), Beit Zachar, Sourik, Bettir, Khirbet Makhrum, Beiyudat, and Herodium. Further examples at Adummim (BOTTINI, *Christian Archaeology in the Holy Land,* p. 159) and Ramot (*Liber Annuus*, 42 [1992], tav. 25) can be dated more precisely.

(33) Madaba area : Lot and Procopius has three possible dates : 542, 557, and 572 AD (M. PICCIRILLO, *Mount Nebo,* Jerusalem, 1998, pp. 442-443). It was an innovative inscription for its day, though its grammar and spelling were vulgar. This mosaic company continued to embellish its letters : PICCIRILLO, *Mosaics of Jordan,* Amman, 1993, pp.125, 151, 206, 237.

(34) Gaza area, Be'er Shema : *Eretz Israel,* 25 (1995), pp. 75*-85*. Inscriptions n° 1, 2, 8, and 10 use Ps with tails. We may have the epitaph of Priest Stephen, or his son : *Liber Annuus,* 46 (1996), p. 282 ; and perhaps his sister : *Atiqot,* 28 (1996), p.176, n° 22.

(35) Egypt : *CIG,* vol. IV p. 44 : 453 and 707 AD ; *TM,* 12 (1994), p. 323 ; *Aegyptus,* 73 (1993), p. 127. Latin North Africa : *Revue Archéologique,* 29 (1896), p.192 ; 30 (1897), pp. 30, 176 ; *Antiquité Tardive,* 2 (1994), p. 281 ; N. DUVAL, *Recherches archéologiques à Haidra,* Rome, 1975, tome I, pp. 209, 513 ; L. ENNABLI, *Les inscriptions funéraires*, Rome, 1991, tome III, p. 31 ; F. PREVOT, *Les inscriptions chrétiennes (Mactar V),* Rome, 1984, p. 183 ; J. DURLIAT, *Les dédicaces,* Rome, 1981, n° 16-20 ; Y. DUVAL, *Loca Sanctorum,* Rome, 1982, n° 31, 106, 126, 133.

(36) Drop Os : N. DUVAL, *La mosaique funéraire,* Ravenna, 1976, pp. 42, 117. *Actes du XI Congrès International d'Archéologie Chrétienne* (1989),

An example. Novel and revived letters offer more than screening tools. They can pinpoint a monument's date of origin. To find *postquems* within an inscription, there are five basic questions to ask. Consider the Lot and Procopius mosaic illustrated in fig. 6.

1. Is it Byzantine ? Letters develop within a unique environment, but also stray beyond it. Russian tsars sponsored hooked Es, and Homer knew tailed Ps. On the mosaic, late antique expressions honor people known from other pavements. Further right (not visible in fig.) it records November of the sixth indiction. Possible dates include 542, 557, and 572 AD.

2. Which characters are revived or novel ? Drop O, looped W, barred Y, tailed P, heart-shaped F, and paired dots on M, W and A can be seen.

3. Is each one used most of the time ? Yes, except for A and F. The majority of the As have slanted crossbars with hooks.

4. How do they relate to local traditions ? Palestinian mosaicists began to adopt drop Os and looped Ws circa 530 AD (fig. 3). Tailed Ps, barred Ys, hooked As, and hanging pairs of dots appeared after 570.

5. How likely are the dates they suggest ? Using fig. 3, one can estimate the probabilities associated with several letters. Four of them indicate a year after 575. The odds are nine to one ([37]). Since it can be no later than 572, the Lot inscription is one of the most innovative yet discovered. Creative texts like this one refine the precision of epigraphic dating.

Paleographic rules always have exceptions. For that reason they can never replace a critical analysis of the text. Letters offer probable dates. Those present in many inscriptions present stronger odds. Figure 1 demonstrates how drop Os are distributed through time. Ninety-eight percent of the Byzantine engravings that use them consistently were carved after 507 AD. If an earlier example were discovered, the accuracy of the 507 postquem would drop slightly ([38]).

pp. 750, 769, 786 ; GUARDUCCI, *Epigrafia,* vol. IV, p. 520 ; A. BALLU, *Le monastère byzantin,* Paris, 1897, p. 29 ; J. KNIGHT, *The End of Antiquity,* Stroud, 1999, pp. 110-111 ; *Revue Archéologique,* 30 (1897), p. 37. Calligraphy : Y. DUVAL, *Loca Sanctorum,* vol. I, n° 7, 201 ; ENNABLI, *Inscriptions,* p. 34.

(37) In figure 3, ninety percent of the mosaics using hooked As, tailed Ps, barred Ys, or Ws with two dots were laid after 575. The first to combine them was 578 m.

(38) Numerous inscriptions with drop Os fall just short of the majority rule. For example, this one of 375 AD : *Bulletin du Musée de Beyrouth,* 29 (1977), p. 168, n° 74. One of 392 AD : *CIG,* vol. IV, n° 9867. Of Arcadius : *Monumenta*

Causes and Implications. Egyptian pharaohs believed they could achieve eternal life by preserving their bodies inside elaborate stone structures. Classical Greeks and Romans shared this dream. They designed temples and mausoleums as if to please the gods. Expensive and old-fashioned techniques ensured that they would remain standing for all time. The pursuit of immortality in stone reached a climax in the second century AD. Masons decorated their work with sophisticated details. Not until modern times would people again devote so much sculpture to the individual.

The soldiers who inherited the Roman Empire seldom built elaborate tombs. They raised practical structures with inexpensive materials. Facades were added to impress contemporaries. Late Romans had other ways to communicate with God. They preferred simple, moving messages without decoration. They carved poetry with an informal style. Hence people needed few professional sculptors. Amateurs took their place. Scribes, who used a simple alphabet, may have provided their models. Drop Os, ligatures and abbreviations faded away from papyri and inscriptions alike ([39]). Christians in particular sought simplicity. They minimized decor on church walls, floors and epitaphs ([40]). To them the message was more important than its appearance. Over time, this spirit filtered the classical heritage down to its essentials. Scholars have often viewed this as a

Asiae Minoris Antiqua, vol. III, n° 73. Of Tatian : ROUECHE, *Aphrodisias*, n° 37. Of 480 AD : see note 22. While an inscription by Leontius uses drop Os consistently, his name is too common for the precise date suggested by M. GUARDUCCI, *Inscriptiones Creticae*, vol. IV, Rome, 1935-1950, n° 325. Another attributed to 495 is actually of 578 AD : J. LASSUS, *Inventaire archéologique*, Damascus, 1935, n° 125. These examples could be multiplied.

(39) A. BLANCHARD, *Sigles et abréviations*, London, 1974, pp. 11-13. Also see note 5, above. Trend from drop Os to round ones : *The Excavations at Dura Europos*, New Haven, 1943-1967, vol. V, 1, fig. 1-71. Few sites demonstrate the pattern so clearly.

(40) Austerity in 400 AD : bland geometric designs replaced figures on church floors (E. KITZINGER, *The Art of Byzantium*, Blomington, 1976, p. 66). Flat opus sectile or champleve were expected on walls. Bishops praised architecture and lighting before mentioning religious images, which remained controversial (C. MANGO, *Art of the Byzantine Empire*, Englewood Cliffs, 1972, pp. 16-17, 26-27, 41-43, 58-59, 69, 90). While sculptors of the human figure still practiced in Athens, the Marmara, and Aphrodisias, no one specialized in letter engraving.

degenerative process, driven by economic decline. However, it allowed literacy and Christian ideals to penetrate deeper than they had before.

In the fourth century the purpose of an inscription still affected its design. Sculptors reserved monumental letters for busts of ancient philosophers ([41]). Prose and poetry might be carved in contrasting techniques. The pious preferred an unfinished look on their epitaphs. Gradually, these distinctions faded away. By the reign of Anastasius, the simple letters seen in churches, their pavements, and tombstones also appeared on edicts, statues, and civic buildings. Contemporaries preferred to purify temples rather than destroy them. They reused ancient materials, and sometimes imitated the designs they encountered. Perhaps after exorcising the demons, they felt safe copying innocuous round characters ([42]).

It is unlikely that masons revived letters from manuscripts. Ligatured OYs were rarely seen in classical writing. They began to crop up in late fifth century cursive script ([43]). Byzantine looped Ws, tailed Ps, and barred Ys also lack handwritten ancestors. Ornamental engravers had developed them. Drop Os, on the other hand, were popular among classical Latin painters and scribes. Perhaps it is not entirely coincidental that this letter became widespread once Greeks occupied Italy.

Sculptors never brought back the angular letters associated with paganism, but they were familiar with the oval forms produced under the Severi. Late antique epigrams capturing this style have been mistaken for classical ones. Revived and novel letters identify a tradition which flourished in the sixth century. Lyrical phrases lauded bishops and magnates. Most of these amusing poems seem to have labeled portraits, put up in public places after they died. One boldly alluded to the Olympian gods ([44]).

(41) Philosophers : SMITH, *Aphrodisias Papers*, vol. II, pp. 147-152 ; *Byz.*, 20 (1950), p.155.

(42) Exorcisms : *Gesta*, 35. 1 (1996), p. 12. MANGO, *Art*, pp. 31,133 ; GUARDUCCI, *Epigrafia Greca*, vol. IV, p. 401. Masons probably hid the original OYs when recutting the stone.

(43) Cursive OYs : E. THOMPSON, *A Handbook of Greek and Latin Palaeography*, London, 1893. In the table facing p. 154, follow the rows for q and O.

(44) Epigrams : L. ROBERT, *Hellenica IV*, pp. 5-138. The one on p. 67 is illustrated in *American Journal of Archaeology*, 14 (1910), p. 66. Date revised by DISEGNI, *The Roman and Byzantine Near East*, vol. II, p. 164. More epigrams : *Bulletin de Correspondance Hellénique*, 104 (1980), p. 591 ; C. MANGO, *Studies on Constantinople*, Brookfield, 1993, chapter 9 ; ROUECHE, *Aphrodisias*, n° 38-

The evolving alphabet reflected a larger process. After the ascetic fifth century, Christians sponsored elegant art once again. Skin-deep sculpture reassured viewers that graven images would not betray their souls. Mosaicists and painters depicted the Gospels vividly. Letters can shed light on the development of book illumination. Following an innovative Dioscurides manuscript scribes of the purple codices added downward hooks to their Es (45). This further links them to secular tradition in Constantinople.

Artists from Italy to Egypt added sixth century letters to fresco (46). Although few paintings survive, this was the medium of the age. Indeed, painters may have initiated the trends preserved by masons. Together they set the Byzantine alphabet onto an original course. Many people who contributed to it lived outside Constantinople. Inscriptions documenting new letters come from modest towns. They belong to folk art. Some innovative masons probably spoke Greek as a second language (47). Emperor and elite appeared to play a secondary role. Popular culture seemed to gain momentum of its own.

Or did it ? The towns which provide a detailed record were abandoned in the middle ages. Cities that flourished, on the other hand, buried their engravings deep within walls and foundations. We cannot see them. When found, they are difficult to date precisely. Urban Byzantines recorded time by indictions, and omitted the decade and century. Hence our

40 ; M. SARTRE, *Inscriptions grecques et latines de la Syrie*, vol. XIII, n° 9119 (such praise was not acceptable during a bishop's lifetime : the epigram is later).

(45) Hooked Es : G. CAVALLO, *Greek Bookhands*, London, 1987, p. II ; and n° 29, 40. D. BUCKTON, *Byzantium*, London, 1994, n° 67, 71. A. GRABAR, *Golden Age of Justinian*, New York, 1967, pp. 197-207. Some Rossano scribes used the drop O consistently.

(46) Frescoes featuring sixth century or later characters : GRABAR, *Golden Age*, pp. 173-189 ; J. PIJOAN, *Summa Artis*, Madrid, 1931, vol. VII, p. 133 ; J. POUILLOUX, *Testimonia Salaminia (Salamine de Chypre*, vol. XIII), Paris, 1987, n° 235 ; *Combined Caesarea Expeditions*, Haifa, 1993, p. 53 ; KRAELING, *Gerasa*, fig. 133 ; ROUECHE, *Aphrodisias*, fig. 15 ; FEISSEL, *Recueil*, n° 234. *CA*, 46 (1998), pp. 39-40. Castelseprio's letters do not exclude a ninth century date.

(47) Both Greeks and Arabs created innovative pavements : M. PICCIRILLO, *Mosaics of Jordan*, Amman, 1993, pp. 50, 125, 151, 206, 237, 220, 343-353. Cf. n. 33.

views of Constantinople, Antioch, Jerusalem, and Alexandria are incomplete. We can be sure that their masons continued to erect splendid buildings, and that the new style of letter carving did not die out. Seventh century scribes emulated the slender and ornate ([48]). Inscriptions show flat topped As, curved Ms, tailed Ps, looped Ws, and OYs with serifs (above). To accommodate the E's hook, they raised its midbar ([49]). Masons gradually replaced drop Os with ovals. Abbreviations thrived. These features readily distinguish between engravings of the two Justinians ([50]), and would continue to permeate Byzantine art.

Ontario, Canada. Chuck MORSS.

Engravings from Figure 1. While searching for revived letters, I encountered their classical ancestors, especially near Thrace and the eastern frontier. Sixth century Byzantine examples are concentrated in Syria and Palestine. The engravings below meet strict criteria. They are arranged chronologically. For each decade, Balkan inscriptions are listed first, followed by those for Anatolia, Cyprus, Syria and Palestine.

Inscriptions grecques et latines de la Syrie by L. JALABERT, R. MOUTERDE, J. REY-COQUAIS, M. SARTRE, et al., Paris, 1929-1986, serves as a concordance for many sources. W. PRENTICE, *Greek and Latin Inscriptions (Publications of an American Archaeological Expedition to Syria,* vol. III) New York, 1908 is often the best illustrated, as is its sequel : *Princeton University Archaeological Expedition to Syria,* Leyden, 1930-1949, vol. III. Other works that contributed to this study include : J. LASSUS, *Inventaire Archéologique,* Damascus, 1935-1936 ; R. BURTON and DRAKE, *Unexplored Syria,* London, 1872, vol. II ; H. LAMMENS, in *Le Musée Belge*, 4 (1900) and 6 (1902) ; OPPENHEIMER and LUCAS in *Byzantinische Zeitschrift,* 14 (1905).

(48) Ornate writing : CAVALLO, *Bookhands,* n° 37, 52 ; THOMPSON, *Handbook,* p. 155.

(49) Es with downward hooks : E. KITZINGER, *The Art of Byzantium,* pp. 207-208, 216, 232 ; G. MATTHIAE, *Pittura Romana,* Rome, 1965, pp. 99, 139, 153, tav. 6.

(50) Two Justinian texts : *TM,* 5 (1973), pp. 153, 156, planche 8. The mosaics in note 47 (above) anticipate those of Nicaea. Compare them in *CA,* 46 (1998), p. 124 ; *TM,* 12 (1994), p. 350.

Many authors transliterate Byzantine inscriptions into conventional forms without notice. The list below omits works that proved unusable for this reason.

n° marks inscriptions numbered by the authors ; 'fig.' means figure, photo, or plate.

200-09 : G. MIHAILOV, *Inscriptiones Graecae in Bulgaria,* Serdica, 1956, n° 1556-1557, 1588, 1690. C. KRAELING, *Gerasa of the Decapolis,* New Haven, 1944, n° 150, 152. **210-19** : G. DAGRON, *Inscriptions de Cilicie,* Paris, 1987, n° 78. F. KAYSER, *Recueil d'inscriptions...d'Alexandrie,* Cairo, 1994, n° 12. **220-29** : MIHAILOV, n° 1699, 1910, 2041. T. MITFORD, *Inscriptions of Kourion,* Philadelphia, 1971, n° 97. **230-39** : MIHAILOV, n° 1374, 1515. KRAELING, n° 26, 156, 158. **240-49** : MIHAILOV, n° 642, 644, 911, 1069, 1511, 1700, 1705-1707, 2013. **250-69** : J. KENT, *The Inscriptions (Corinth,* vol. VIII, 3), Princeton, 1966, n° 116. J. KIRCHNER, *Imagines Inscriptionum Atticarum,* Berlin, 1935-1948, n° 147. KRAELING, n° 159. KAYSER, n° 82. **310-19** : *Princeton University Archaeological Expedition to Syria,* Leyden, 1930-1949, vol. III, n° 711. **450-99** : D. FEISSEL, *Recueil des inscriptions chrétiennes de Macédoine,* Paris, 1993, n° 64. L. JALABERT, *Inscriptions grecques et latines de la Syrie,* n° 490, 495, 1627, 1639, 2246, 2108, 2153, 2617. **500-09** : FEISSEL, *Recueil,* n° 131. T. CORSTEN, *Die Inschriften von Prusa,* Bonn, 1991-1993, n° 1097. JALABERT, n° 378, 9124A. R. CANOVA, *Iscrizioni e Monumenti del Paese di Moab,* Vatican, 1954, n° 350. **510-19** : JALABERT, n° 264, 1725, 1578, 1729, 1851, 9046. *Revue Biblique,* 1934, p. 264 ; 1903, p. 427, n° 4 (for the date, see note 27). P. FIGUERAS, *Byzantine Inscriptions,* Be'er Sheva, 1985, n° 27. M. MITTERAND, *Syrie : Mémoire et civilisation,* Paris, 1993, p. 345. **520-29** : *TM,* 9 (1985), p. 277, n° 14. *Anatolian Studies,* 19 (1969), p.139. *CIG,* Berlin, 1877, n° 8628. W. PRENTICE, *Greek and Latin Inscriptions,* n° 18A. P. DONCEEL-VOUTE, *Les pavements des églises,* Louvain-la-Neuve, 1988, p. 210. JALABERT, n° 589, 578-9, 1579, 1829, 1610, 2155, 2144. **530-39** : V. BESEVLIEV, *Spatgriechische und Spatlateinische Inschriften,* Berlin, 1964, n° 231. *TM,* 9 (1985), p. 278, n° 15. FEISSEL, n° 133-135. DAGRON, n° 105. JALABERT, n° 571, 1632, 1707, 1789, 1985, 2066, 2098, 2614, 2644, 2945. Janine BALTY, *Apamée de Syrie,* Bruxelles, 1972, p. 193. *Syria, 62* (1985), p. 299. *Milion,* 1, Rome, 1986, p. 13. *Quarterly of the Dept. of Antiquities,* 3 (1933), fig. 31 ; 10 (1942), fig. 35, 3. C. CLERMONT-GANNEAU, *Archeological Researches,* London, 1896, vol. II, pp. 401-413, n° 5B. *Revue Biblique,* 1905, p. 253. Y. TSAFRIR,

Excavations at Rehovot, Jerusalem, 1988, pp. 157-169, n° 24. H. COLT, *Excavations at Nessana*, Princeton, 1950, vol. I, n° 96. **540-49** : BESEVLIEV, n° 249. *CA*, 45 (1997), p. 32. *Bulletin de Correspondance Hellénique*, 116 (1992), p. 391. *CIG*, n° 9146. JALABERT, n° 1598, 1873, 1889, 1809, 1957, 2098, 2635, 9128A, 9130A, 9134A, 9133A, 9132. A. FIGUERAS, n° 15, 28. *Revue Biblique*, 1903, p. 275 ; 1904, p. 267. *Israel Exploration Journal*, 27 (1977), fig. 19. CLERMONT-GANNEAU, n° 8-10. A. NEGEV, *Greek Inscriptions*, Jerusalem, 1981, n° 17. TSAFRIR, *Excavations*, n° 5, 11. CANOVA, n° 278. *Journal of the Palestine Oriental Society*, 17 (1937), p. 212. **550-59** : BESEVLIEV, n° 97, 148. *Bulletin de Correspondance Hellénique*, 46 (1922), p. 357. ROUECHE, *Aphrodisias*, n° 164. W. CALDER, *Monumenta Asiae Minoris Antiqua*, Manchester, 1928-1962, vol. IV, n° 312. DAGRON, n° 89. T. ULBERT, *Resafa II*, Mainz, 1984, fig. 49. *CIG*, n° 8609 (for the Shakka era, see Y. MEIMARIS, *Chronological Systems*, pp. 321, 327). JALABERT, n° 349, 493, 618, 620, 1811, 1609, 1682, 2553, 2631-2, 2654. *TM*, 12 (1994), p. 305. *Revue Biblique*, 1907, p. 275. COLT, n° 115. CANOVA, n° 228, 294. NEGEV, n° 16. **560-69** : *Bulletin de Correspondance Hellénique*, 118 (1994), p. 279. DAGRON, n° 55. JALABERT, n° 546, 1821, 1859, 2156, 1926, 1785,1940, 1842, 362. FIGUERAS, n° 17. *Revue Biblique*, 1904, p. 267. CLERMONT-GANNEAU, n° 13. CANOVA, n° 343. M. PICCIRILLO, *Mosaics of Jordan*, Amman, 1993, p. 335. **570-79** : BESEVLIEV, n° 198. *Bulletin de Correspondance Hellénique*, 119 (1995), p. 381. JALABERT, n° 262, 502, 642, 1673, 1759, 1812, 1815, 1883, 1862, 1934, 1966, 1970. COLT, n° 78. CANOVA, n° 18-21, 201, 239, 270, 310-11, 330, 355, 357. NEGEV, n° 19. **580-89** : BESEVLIEV, n° 227. *Charisterion eis Anastasion Orlandon* I, Athens, 1965, p. 329. H. WANKEL, *Die Inschriften von Ephesos*, Bonn, 1979-84, vol. Ia, n° 40. JALABERT, n° 530, 1929, 288, 2125, 2640, 2661. *Byz.*, 5 (1929), p. 319. *Bulletin du Musée de Beyrouth*, 29 (1977), fig. 45. COLT, n° 24, 45. CANOVA, n° 24-26, 202-203, 312, 358-359. *Revue Biblique*, 1901, p. 580 ; 1904, p. 267 ; 1905, p. 257. NEGEV, n° 18, 45, 53, 55. **590-99** : JALABERT, n° 500, 1904, 1916, 1945, 1955, 1981, 2000-2001, 2014, 2072, 2110, 2119, 2175, 2611, 4053. *Berytus*, 4 (1937), p. 118. COLT, n° 118. CANOVA, n° 29-30, 32, 363. NEGEV, n° 48. **600-09** : *Inschriften von Milet*, Berlin, 1997, Band VI, 2, n° 1007. JALABERT, n° 281, 271, 298, 1887, 1939, 2094, 2512, 2633. *Bulletin du Musée de Beyrouth*, 29 (1977), fig. 50. *Revue Biblique*, 1905, p. 253 ; 1906, p. 85. CANOVA, n° 38, 241, 315, 368-9, 372, 375. COLT, n° 13, 17, 72, 92. CLERMONT-GANNEAU, n° 14A, 14B. NEGEV, n° 54. **610-29** : JALABERT, n° 2176. CANOVA,

n° 39, 204, 376, 381, 384. *Revue Biblique*, 1920, p. 118. NEGEV, n° 27, 57, 61-62. **630-49** : *Princeton University Archaeological Expedition to Syria*, vol. III, n° 715. COLT, n° 14. CANOVA, n° 387, 389-392. *Liber Annuus*, 39 (1989), fig. 6. NEGEV, n° 49, 50, 52, 58-60, 63, 68.

Mosaics. Listed chronologically, all can be dated within two years. (fig. = figure, photo, or plate).

Figure 2, Greater Syria : **387** : *Antioch-on-the-Orontes*, Princeton, 1938, vol. II, p. 38. **389** : G. TCHALENKO, *Villages antiques*, Paris, 1953-1958, vol. II, p. 149. **389** : *Bulletin du Musée de Beyrouth*, 15 (1959), fig. 57. **392** : Jean BALTY, *Guide d'Apamée*, Bruxelles, 1981, p. 145. **395** : Jean BALTY, *Mosaïques de l'église*, Bruxelles, 1969, fig. 16. **411** and **415** : P. DONCEEL-VOUTE, *Les pavements des églises*, pp. 263, 467. **416** : *Arte Profana e Arte Sacra* (*Milion* III), Rome, 1995, p. 244. **429** : DONCEEL, p. 80. **431** : S. SAHIN, *Studien zur Religion*, Leiden, 1978, vol. I, p. 231. **432** : DONCEEL, p. 303. **442** : *Arte Profana*, p. 249. **447** : M. DONDERER, *Die Mosaizisten*, Erlangen, 1989, fig. 17. **468** : *Zeitschrift für Papyrologie*, 47 (1982), p. 90, fig. 5. **469** : Balty, *Guide*, p. 80. **471** : Donceel, p. 146. **473** : W. PRENTICE, *Greek and Latin inscriptions*, p. 190, no 217. **481** : *TM*, 11 (1991), p. 465, fig. 3. **483** and **486** : P. CANIVET, *Huarte : Sanctuaire chrétien*, Paris, 1987, vol. II, fig. 160. **490** and **500** : DONCEEL, pp. 306, 197. **506** : *Archéologie au Levant*, Lyon, 1982, p. 406. **506** : H. SEEDEN, *Beit-ed-Din* ; inscription reviewed in *Bulletin de la Société Nationale des Antiquaires* (1995), p. 135. **511** : *Syria*, 64 (1987), p. 327, fig. 5 and 4. **515** : *Liber Annuus*, 35 (1985), tav. 45. **524, 535,** and **541** : *Bulletin du Musée de Beyrouth*, 15 (1959), fig. 57, 58, 54. **529** : *Syria*, 73 (1996), p. 102. **538** : *Antioch-on-the-Orontes*, vol. III, p. 84. **539** : Janine BALTY, *La grande mosaïque de chasse*, Bruxelles, 1969, fig. 18. **540** : *Syria*, 73 (1996), p. 103. **558** and **568** : DONCEEL, pp. 399, 140. **573** : *Syria*, 1 (1920), p. 303. **575** : F. BARATTE, *Catalogue des mosaïques*, Paris, 1978, p. 143. **581** and **605** : *Bulletin du Musée de Beyrouth*, 15, fig. 115 ; revised by *Syria*, 39, p. 42. **595** : SEEDEN, *Beit-ed-Din* ; inscription reviewed in *Bulletin de la Société Nationale des Antiquaires* (1995), p. 135. **605, 608,** and **622** : *Archéologie au Levant*, pp. 404, 407, 408. **630** : *Monumenta Asiae Minora Antiqua*, vol. II, p. 107 ; date revised in *Art Bulletin*, 55 (1973), p. 142. **722** : DONCEEL, p. 52. **746** : DONCEEL, p. 397 ; date revised in *AT*, 2 (1994), p. 291.

Figure 3, Greater Palestine : **415 and 443** : *Eretz Israel,* 19 (1987), pp. 44*, 42*. **477** : R. OVADIAH, *Mosaic Pavements in Israel,* Rome, 1987, fig. 83. **482j** : M. PICCIRILLO, *Mosaics of Jordan,* Amman, 1993, p. 340. **486** : M. PRAUSNITZ, *Excavations at Shavei Zion,* Rome, 1967, fig. 37. **490** : *Eretz Israel,* 19 (1987), p. 45*. **493g** : *Eretz Israel,* (1971), fig. y (40). **499g** : OVADIAH, fig. 3. **504j** : PICCIRILLO (1993), p. 315. **509g** and **512** : OVADIAH, fig. 54, 79. **519** : G. BOTTINI, *Christian Archaeology in the Holy Land,* Jerusalem, 1990, p. 382. **522** : G. FITZGERALD, *A Sixth Century Monastery,* Philadelphia, 1939, fig. 22. **526j** : C. KRAELING, *Gerasa,* New Haven, 1944, fig. 79. **528** : P. DELOUGAZ, *A Byzantine Church,* Chicago, 1960, fig. 51. **528** : *Liber Annuus,* 41 (1991), p. 514. **529j** : KRAELING, fig. 71. **530m** and **531** : PICCIRILLO (1993), pp. 135, 314. **531j** : KRAELING, fig. 66. **533j** : PICCIRILLO (1993), p. 288. **535** : *Liber Annuus,* 47 (1997), fig. 46. **536m** : M. PICCIRILLO, *Chiese e Mosaici di Madaba,* Jerusalem, 1989, p. 180. **542** : *Atiqot,* 21 (1992), p. 129. **553g** : see note 30. **555** : *Quarterly of the Department of Antiquities of Palestine,* 3 (1933), fig. 30. **559j** : PICCIRILLO (1993), p. 294. **562g** : A. D. TRENDALL, *The Shellal Mosaic,* Canberra, 1942, p.12. **562m** : PICCIRILLO (1993), p. 109. **565j** : KRAELING, fig. 62. **566** : *Quarterly of the Department. of Antiquities of Palestine,* 3 (1933), fig. 17. **570j** : PICCIRILLO (1993), p. 298. **572** : *Liber Annuus,* 45 (1995), fig. 84. **575g** : *Biblical Archaeology Review,* 6 (January, 1980), p. 18. **575m, 578j** : PICCIRILLO (1993), pp. 116, 283. **578g** : *Biblical Archaeology Review,* 6 (1980), p. 16. **578m** : PICCIRILLO (1993), p. 78, plus *Revue Biblique,* 1902, p. 426. **582** : M. PICCIRILLO, *Chiese e Mosaici della Giordania Settentrional,* Jerusalem, 1981, tav 76. **584j** : KRAELING, fig. 61. **585** : DONCEEL, p. 171. **586m** : *Early Christianity in Context,* Jerusalem, 1993, p. 322. **587m** : PICCIRILLO (1993), p. 206. **591** : *Atiqot,* 20 (1991), p. 92. **594** and **595** : PICCIRILLO (1981), tav. 57, 66. **595m** and **597m** : PICCIRILLO (1993), pp. 125, 150. **601g** : COLT, *Excavations*, n° 94. **602** and **603m** : PICCIRILLO (1993), pp. 246, 116. **604** : *Atiqot,* 11 (1976), fig. 32. **605** : PICCIRILLO (1981), tav. 53. **606** : PICCIRILLO (1993), p. 336. **607m** : PICCIRILLO (1989), p. 69. **611j** : KRAELING, fig. 74. **623** : PICCIRILLO (1981), tav. 69. **631** : *American Journal of Archaeology,* 102 (1998), p. 799. **635** : PICCIRILLO (1981), tav. 61. **637** : PICCIRILLO (1993), p. 303, 306. **687** : *Liber Annuus,* 44 (1994), tav. 36. **718m** : PICCIRILLO (1993), p. 220 ; revised *Journal of Roman Archaeology,* 11 (1998), pp. 697, 702. **718** : PICCIRILLO (1993), p. 267. **719m** : *Liber Annuus,* 35 (1985), tav. 58-61. **756m** : PICCIRILLO (1993), p. 220. **762** and **767** : *Liber Annuus,* 42 (1992), tav. 25. **762m** : *Liber Annuus,* 44 (1994), tav. 25.

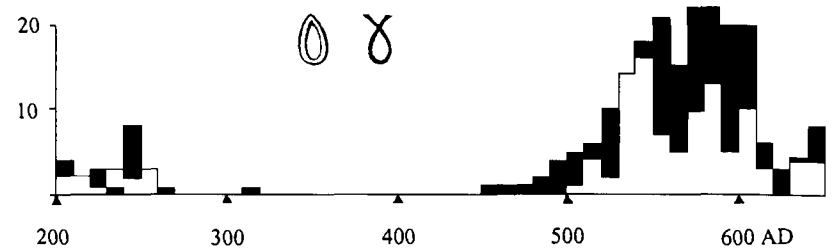


FIG. 1. — Engravings per decade using ligatured OYs (in black) and drop-shaped Os (white). Compiled from Greek inscriptions which bear precise dates (8). Sources listed in the appendix.

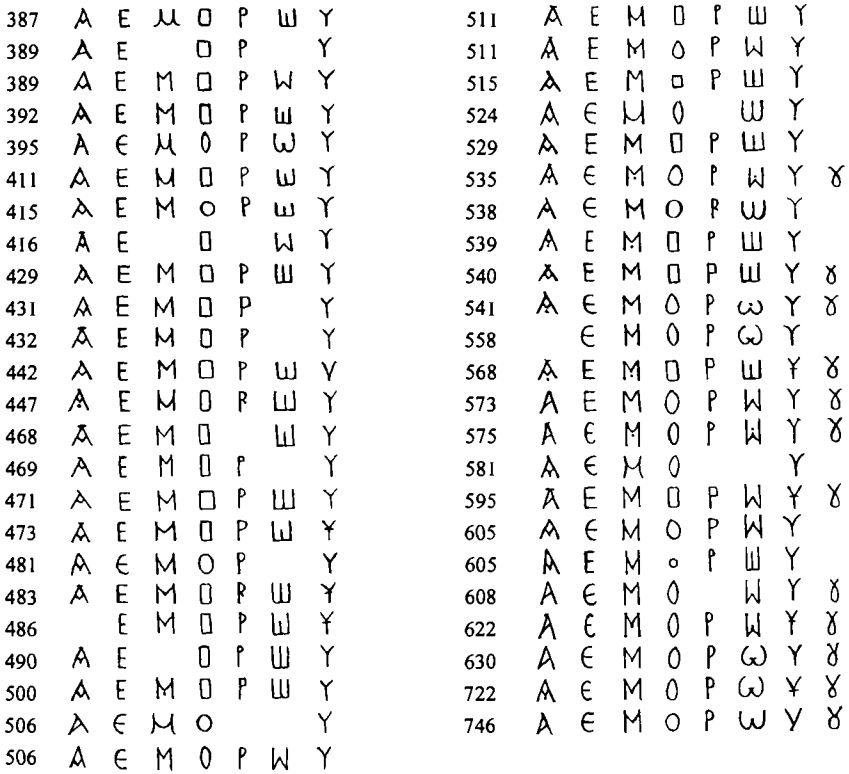


FIG. 2. — Selected letters from the dated mosaics of greater Syria. Novel and revived characters began to appear in 447 AD. Only the OY became permanent. Sources : see appendix.

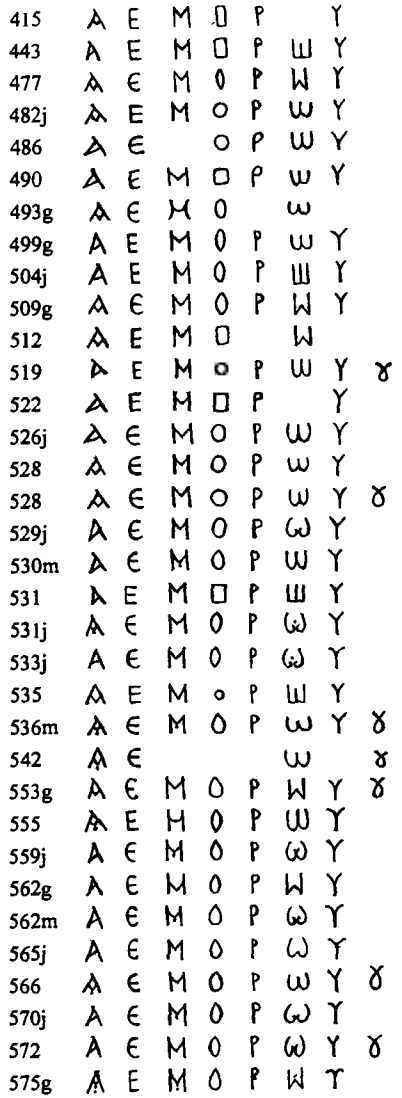


FIG. 3. — Letters from the dated mosaics of Palestine. Artisans near Madaba (m), Jerash (j), and Gaza (g) followed distinct traditions. Sources listed in the appendix.

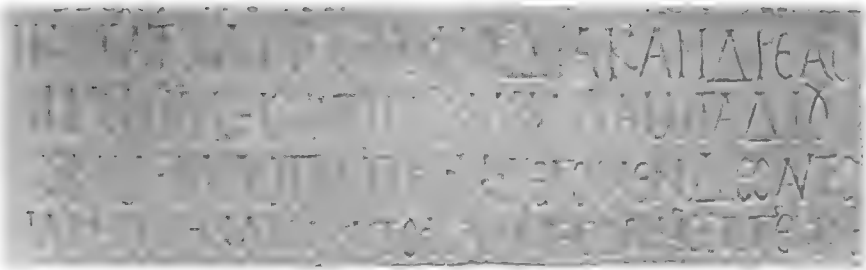


FIG. 4. — Epitaph of 532 AD, Thessaloniki. Deltas with long bases, drop Os, looped omicrons, ligatures, and miniature letters can all be seen. (after author's photo).

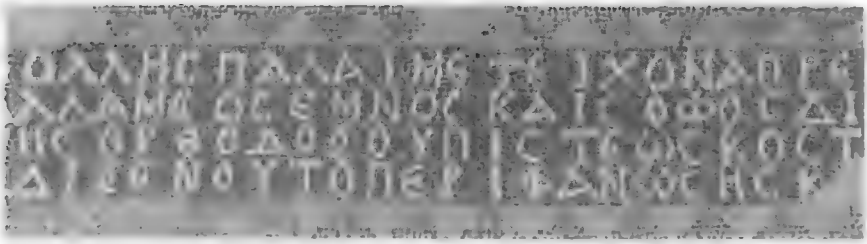


FIG. 5. — Floor mosaic, Thebes, Greece. Drop Os, looped Ws, barred and flaired Ys, plus letters with tiny crosses betray a mid-sixth century date. (after author's photo).

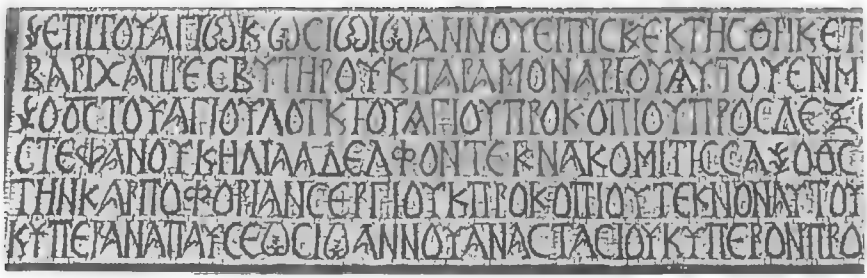


FIG. 6. — Lot and Procopius floor, Mt. Nebo, Jordan. 572 AD. See text and note 33. (after M. PICCIRILLO, *Mosaics of Jordan*, p. 160).

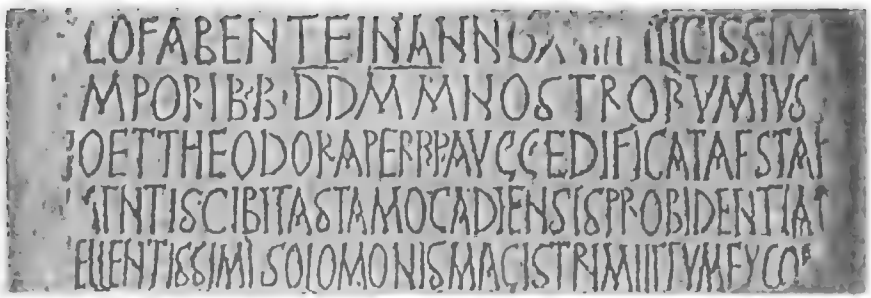


FIG. 7. — Fort of 539-540 AD, Timgad, North Africa. Latin text featuring drop Os, Rs with short tails, and Ss like Greek stigmas. (after J. DURLIAT, *Les dédicaces des ouvrages*,

WAS BORIS KALAMANOVIČ BURIED IN THE CHURCH OF ST. PLATO AT CONSTANTINOPLE ?

In 1200 Dobrynia Jadrejkovič, the future archbishop Antony, made a pilgrimage to Constantinople, leaving us perhaps the most detailed single description of the shrines and relics of the City before its destruction worked by the Crusaders. Antony's *Kniga Palomnik* (The Pilgrim Book) presents the reader with a detailed recapitulation of what the pious pilgrim would see in the imperial City. Anyone who has read *Kniga Palomnik* may have observed that the author had an exceptional interest in what is concerned to the Russians at the Byzantine capital. He is the only author, for instance, who mentions an embassy of Prince Roman of Galitza to Constantinople and describes a large decorated plate, supposedly contributed to St. Sophia by Princess Olga, that he saw in the skeuophylakion. In this connection, there is a notice in Antony's book according to which the body of a certain Borin [*sic*] was buried in the church of St. Plato. It reads as follows : "Страньже того церковь есть святаго Платона и ту мощи его и святы Иоаннь Милостивый, и Боринъ ту въ тѣлѣ лежить" (To one side of this church is [the church] of St. Plato and his relics and [the relics] of St. John the Merciful are here ; and the body of Borin reposes here) (1). It forms part of an enumeration of the churches placed in his second tour, where the way along the Golden Horn is described (2). We are, therefore, confronted with the question : who was

(1) '*Kniga Palomnik*'. *Skazanie mest svjatych vo Tsaregrade Antonija, archiepiskopa novgorodskogo, v 1200 g.*, ed. Hr. M. Loparev, in *Pravoslavnyj Palestinskij Sbornik,* vol. XVII, 3, 51 (St. Petersburg, 1899), pp. 30, 88 (hereafter, '*Kniga Palomnik*'). I translated in English the Slavonic passages (given in round brackets in the text and footnotes) that concern us as literally as possible. I wish to thank Dr A. Berger for reading the text and offering helpful comments.

(2) For the main division of Antony's book : N. I. Prokof'ev, *Russkioe khoždenie XII-XV vv.* in *Učenie zapiski Moskovskogo pedagogičeskogo*

this Borin ? This question immediately leads to a second one : why did Antony feel obliged to insert a word about him ? It is my aim to give an answer to these questions.

Before going any further a word must be said about the church of St. Plato. It was supposedly built by Anastasios I (491-518) after 500 ([3]), but according to Prokopios of Caesarea, restored by Justinian the Great (527-565) before 527 ([4]). We learn from the *Vita Basilii* that it was rebuilt by Basil I ([5]). It is said to have been ἐν τοῖς Δομνίνου ἐμβόλοις according to the *Synaxarion of Constantinople* ([6]). The *Vita Basilii* and Antony of Novgorod repeat the same information and the *Patria* suggests that it overlooked the church of the Resurrection and the Baths of Dagistheus ([7]). The church can therefore be placed with a degree of

instituta imeni Lenina, 363 (1970), p. 88 believes that Antony's *Kniga Palomnik* consits of two sections : description of the church St. Sophia and enumeration of the relics of the Christian martyrs, their shrines and holy places. In contrast to him Hr. Loparev ('*Kniga Palomnik*', p. LXIV) sees three sections in the text : inside the city, along the Golden Horn and outside the city walls. Here I shall follow the view of Loparev.

(3) R. JANIN, *La géographie ecclésiastique de l'empire byzantin*. 1 : *Le siège de Constantinople*, 3. *Les églises et les monastères*, 2nd ed., Paris, 1969, p. 418 ; A. BERGER, *Untersuchungen zu den Patria Konstantinopoleos* (*Poikila Byzantina 8*), Bonn, 1988, p. 438 [hereafter BERGER, *Untersuchungen*].

(4) PROKOPIOS OF CAESAREA, *De aedificiis*, ed. J. HAURY, vol. III', Leipzig, 1913, p. 26, 27-29 where speaking of St. Plato's church, describes it as situated not far from the Forum of Constantine ; G. LASKIN, *G. Kodin. O drevnostjakh Konstantinopolja*, Kiev, 1905, p. 216.

(5) THEOPHANES CONTINUATUS, *Chronographia*, ed. B. NIEBUR, Bonn, 1838, p. 324, 16-18 ; IOANNIS SCYLITZAE, *Synopsis historiarum*, ed. I. THURN, Berlin-New York, 1973, p. 163. 62.

(6) The feast of the saint was observed on November 18 ἐν τῷ σεπτῷ αὐτοῦ μαρτυρείῳ τῷ ὄντι ἐν τοῖς Δομνίνου ἐμβόλοις : *Synaxarium Ecclesiae Constantinopolitanae. Propylaeum ad Acta Sanctorum Novembris*, ed. H. DELEHAYE, Brussels, 1902, col. 235. 8-10 ; 706, 40-42 ; M. GEDEON, *Βυζαντινὸν Ἑορτολόγιον*, Constantinople, 1899, p. 108 ; See also BERGER, *Untersuchungen*, p. 439.

(7) THEOPHCONT, *loc. cit.* ; *Scriptores originum Constantinopolitanarum*, ed. T. PREGER, 2 vols., II, Leipzig, 1901-1907, § 40, 41, 43, p. 232 ; '*Kniga Palomnik*', pp. 29-30, 88 ; BERGER, *Untersuchungen*, *loc. cit.* The church of the Resurrection was located at the juncture of the ἔμβολος τοῦ Δομνίνου and the

certainty in the Portico of Domninos, although it is unclear on which side of the Portico it lay. To my knowledge there is no reference to the church of St. Plato after 1204. It may have been destroyed by the great fire of 1203 ([8]).

There is some confusion concerning the relics of St. John the Merciful, a famous seventh-century patriarch of Alexandria known for his charity ([9]). At another point in the text, Antony describes them as being in Galata. Perhaps the connection he makes with Galata goes back to an earlier tradition. Apparently, in an earlier period the relics of St. John had been kept at a church dedicated to that saint in Galata. Due to the tension with the Crusaders' coming to Constantinople the saint's remains seem to have been transferred from Galata to the church of St. Plato in the city itself ([10]). It is reasonable to accept that Antony may have obtained his information from a local guide, who had come to know something about these relics.

We may now turn our attention to the enigmatic personality : Боринъ (Borin). Apparently this name is misunderstood and Boris is the correct name here ([11]). In some manuscripts Boris is found, whether in others is left out ([12]). The statement of Antony gives us no very clear idea about

Mese, or possibly somewhat north of this intersection : JANIN, *Églises*, p. 28, locates the church in the Portico of Domninos ; BERGER, *Untersuchungen*, p. 310 (Skizze 7) also places the church at the Portico but a little north of the Mese ; G. MAJESKA, *Russian Travelers to Constantinople in the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Centuries*, Washington, D.C., 1984, p. 289.

(8) BERGER, *Untersuchungen*, pp. 310-311.

(9) We do not know when the relics of St. John the Merciful were transferred from Cyprus to Constantinople. On St. John the Merciful (*Eleomosynarius*, the Almoner), see *BHG*³, vol. II, pp. 19-20 ; G. MAJESKA, *op. cit.*, p. 308, n. 118. During the Latin Empire of Constantinople the body of St. John the Merciful is reported to have been transported to Venice.

(10) This is the view of Hr. Loparev ('*Kniga Palomnik*', p. c).

(11) This name, as it stands before us, suggests that it was to be given in its Greek form (in accusative) since normal Russian orthography is Борисъ. See for example LEONIS DIACONI CALOENSIS, *Historiae*, ed. C. B. HASE, Bonn, 1828, pp. 136, 16 ; 158, 24 which speaks about Βορῆν and Hase's note on p. 477. For various orthographic examples see V. N. ZLATARSKI, *Istorija na bulgarskata dŭržava prez srednite vekove*, vol. I, part 2, Sofia, 1927, p. 1 n. 3.

(12) The name is given in the Jacimirskij manuscript *Gosudarstvennaja Biblioteka imeni Lenina, Muzejnoe Sobranije*, 10261, XVI century and that from *Gosudarstvennyj Isroričeskij Muzej, Muzejnoe Sobranije*, 1428, XVII century.

him and opens the door to various hypotheses. We know of the existence of three persons to whom the name may have been applied : Boris II, son of Tsar Peter of Bulgaria ; Boris of Polotsk ; Boris Kalamanovič. If the choice lies between these persons, the preference must be given to the last one. The reason for our choice, we shall explain more fully below.

Let us look at the first person. It was Tikhomirov, who has attempted to prove (without giving details) that Boris must have been identified with the son of Tsar Peter of Bulgaria ([13]). After their mother's death (ca. 963) Peter's two sons, Boris and Romanos, were sent as hostages to the Byzantine capital ([14]). Upon their father's death (at the beginning of 969)

Unfortunately, the former, the oldest most accurate one was discovered too late to form the basis for Loparev's edition. However, this cannot be assessed until the question of the redaction is resolved : see O. A. BELOBROVA, *'Kniga Palomnik' Antonija Novgorodskogo (k izučeniju teksta)*, in *Trudy Otdela drevnerusskoj literatury*, 29 (1974), pp. 179-185. Indeed, the Jacimirskij manuscript was attached as appendix II (pp. 71-94) by Loparev in his edition. Loparev's publication has become the basic study on Antony's text ever since. A new critical edition of *Kniga palomnik*, based on all the preserved manuscripts, remains a strong *desideratum*. As far as I know, Prof. G. Majeska is preparing a critical edition of Antony's *Kniga Palomnik*. As for the latter manuscript which remains unpublished see : L. N. MAJKOV, *Material' I issledovanija po starinnoj russkoj literature. I. Beseda o svjat'njach I drugich dostopamjatnostjach Tsaregrada*, in *Sbornik Otdelenija russkogo jazyka i slovestnosti Auademii nauk*, vol. LI, 4 (St. Petersburg, 1890), pp. 3-11 ; N. V. RUZSKIJ, *Svedenija Daniila v načale XII veka*, in *Čtenija v Obščestve istorii I drevnostej rossiiskikh pri Moskovskom universitete*, otdel. II (1891), pp. 96-97 ; M. I. SPERANSKIJ, *Iz starinnoj novgorodskoj literatur' XIV veka*, Leningrad, 1934, pp. 84-85 and 88 ; See also *'Kniga Palomnik'*, pp. XVI-XIX ; O. BELOBROVA, *op. cit.*, p. 178, n. 2.

(13) M. N. TIKHOMIROV, *Drevnerusskie goroda*, Moscow, 1946, p. 126.

(14) JOHSCYL, p. 255, 73-75 ; JOHN ZONARAS, *Epitome Historiarum*, ed. T. BÜTTNER-WOBST, Bonn, 1897, IV, p. 75, 15-24 ; V. N. ZLATARSKI, *op. cit.*, pp. 589, n. 2, 590, n. 2 ; A. LEROY-MOLINGHEN, *Les fils de Pierre de Bulgarie et les Cométopoules*, in *Byz.*, 42 (1972), pp. 405-419 ; CH. BRAND, *Boris II*, in *ODB*, vol. I, p. 310 ; PL. PAVLOV, *Boris II (Opit za novo tŭlkuvane na semejno-dinastičnite problemi v Preslavskija dvor pri tsar Petŭr)*, in *Preslav 5* s. a. red. T. TOTEV, Sofia, 1993, p. 48 ; S. PIRIVATRIČ, *Samuilovata dŭržava*, Sofia, 2000, p. 49. On the other side, see the argumentation of M. WHITTOW (*The making of Orthodox Byzantium 600-1025*, London, 1996, p. 294) and Iv. BOŽILOV (*Bŭlgarite vŭv Vizantijskata imperija*, Sofia, 1995, p. 350) that this happened in 968. A

they seem to have been sent back to Bulgaria ([15]). The elder was recognized as Tsar Boris II (969-971). It will be remembered that during the Russian incursion into Bulgaria, Boris II and his brother were captured by the Kievan Prince Svjatoslav ([16]) and stayed as his prisoners in the Bulgarian capital until the city fell in the hands of the Emperor John I Tzimiskes in 5 April, 971 ([17]). The latter had no intention to restore the Bulgarian ruler to his throne and once eastern Bulgaria was subdued Boris was stripped of his crown, taken to the Byzantine capital and given the Byzantine court title of *magistros* ([18]). After John Tzimiskes' death in 976, it seems that Peter's two sons had escaped from Constantinople ([19]).

little later, Iv. Božilov (Iv. Božilov, V. Gjuzelev, *Istorija na srednovekovna Bulgaria VII – XIV vek*, vol. I, Sofia, 1999, pp. 305, n. 25 and 307, n. 51) modifying his position, has stressed that there are many difficulties involved in Scylitzes's account about the hostage of Peter's sons. He comes to the conclusion that it was merely interpolation of the chronicler.

(15) V. N. Zlatarski, *op. cit.*, p. 592 ; Iv. Božilov, V. Gjuzelev, *op. cit.*, p. 297 ; S. Pirivatrič, *op. cit.*, p. 61.

(16) Scyl., pp. 287, 91-288, 94 ; *Povest' Vremennykh Let*, 2nd ed. V. P. Adrianova-Peretts and D. S. Likhačev, St. Petersburg, 1996, p. 31 ; V. N. Zlatarski, *op. cit.*, pp. 598-599 ; P. Mutavčiev, *Russko-bolgarskie otnošenija pri Svjatoslave*, in *Seminarium Kondakovianum*, vol. 4 (Praha, 1931), pp. 78-80 ; S. A. Ivanov, *Toiranos tōn Boulgarōn. (Ioan Tzimiskhii i Boris II v 971 g.)*, in *Obščestvennoe soznanie na Balkanakh v srednie veka*, (Kalinin, 1982), p. 48 ; J. A. Fine, *The Early medieval Balkans. A critical survey from the sixth to the late twelfth century*, vol. I, Ann Arbor, 1992, p. 184 ; M. Whittow, *op. cit.*, p. 294 ; Iv. Božilov, V. Gjuzelev, *op. cit.*, p. 298 ; S. Pirivatrič, *op. cit.*, pp. 69-70.

(17) Leo Diac., pp. 129-138 ; Scyl., pp. 294, 3-298, 11 ; V. N. Zlatarski, *op. cit.*, pp. 598-599, 609-613 ; J. A. Fine, *op. cit.*, pp. 187-188 ; Iv. Božilov, V. Gjuzelev, *op. cit.*, p. 300.

(18) Leo Diac., pp. 158, 16-159, 2 ; Scyl., p. 310, 62-69 ; V. N. Zlatarski, *op. cit.*, pp. 627-628 ; J. A. Fine, *op. cit.*, p. 187 ; Ch. Brand, *op. cit.*, p. 311 ; Iv. Božilov, V. Gjuzelev, *op. cit.*, pp. 300, 311 ; S. Pirivatrič, *op. cit.*, p. 58.

(19) V. N. Zlatarski, *op. cit.*, p. 651 assumes that this happened between 976 and 979 ; While P. Petrov (*Obrazuvane i ukrepvane na Zapadnata bŭlgarska dŭržava*, in *Godišnik na SU philosophsko-istoričeski phakultet*, vol. LIII, 2 [1960], p. 180) has given preference to 977, J. Ferluga (*John Skylitzes and Michael of Devol*, in *Zbor.*, 10 [1967], p. 165) has reconsidered the evidence and suggested a possibility for 978. The view of the latter is recently supported by S. Pirivatrič, *op. cit.*, p. 67.

At the Bulgarian frontier Boris was accidentally killed by a Bulgarian guard who failed to recognize him ([20]). Such, in outline, is the story of Boris II. It may be said, therefore, that he had long been a resident in Constantinople. However, this first impression may be misleading. As far as I know, in Constantinople Boris (along with his brother Romanos) was obliged to stay in the precincts of the Great Palace ([21]). There is no evidence, in the sources, of any connection between him and other places at Constantinople. It is also unbelievable that the memory of this person was alive long after his death. All this goes to show that Tikhomirov's view cannot be taken seriously.

According to Loparev, Boris must be sought among the princes of Polotsk, exiled to Constantinople in 1129 ([22]). But, this highly speculative view finds no confirmation in the Russian sources ([23]). As it is known, in 1128 the Kievan Grand Prince Mstislav Vladimirovič (1125-1132) sent troops from all parts of Russia to invade Polotsk and to subordinate the Polotsk lands. The principality had retained its independence up to that

(20) SCYL., p. 329, 72-75 ; V. R. ROZEN, *Imperator Vasilij Bolgaroboitsa. Izvlečenija iz letopisi Jahŭi Antiochiiskogo*, St. Petersburg, 1883, pp. 20, 34-21, 10 ; B. PROKIĆ, *Die Zusätze in der Handschrift des Johannes Skylitzes. Codex Vindobonensis hist. Graec. LXXIV*, München, 1906, p. 28 ; V. GJUZELEV, *Izvori za srednovekovnata istorija na Bŭlgaria (VII-XV v.) v avstrijskite rukopisni sbirki i archivi*, vol. I, Sofia, 1994, p. 45 ; as well as V. N. ZLATARSKI, *op. cit.*, pp. 648, n. 1, 2 and 649, n. 2 ; J. A. FINE, *op. cit.*, p. 189 ; Iv. BOŽILOV, V. GJUZELEV, *op. cit.*, p. 316. We may also note that according to the Bulgarian eschatological thinking, Boris II adopts the significance of Michael Khagan or "the last apocalyptical king". Ordinary people, in other words, looked at the new Tsar in expectation for bright prospects. I owe this interesting fact to my colleague A. Nikolov, whom I wish to thank in this place. See also A. NIKOLOV, *Nabludenija vŭrkhu zikŭla starobŭlgarski istoriko-apokaliptični tvorbi ot X-XI v.*, in *Paleobulgarica*, 21, 1 (1997), pp. 99, 105.

(21) In agreement with this is the testimony of Yaḥyā of Antioch in V. R. ROZEN, *op. cit.*, p. 21, 1-2 ; Cf. also the very similar account of al-Makin : translation V. G. VASIL'EVSKIJ, *K istorii 976-986 godov. (iz Al-Mekina i Ioanna Geometra)*, in *Žurnal Ministerstva Narodnogo Prosveščenija*, part 184, otdl. II (March 1876), p. 138.

(22) '*Kniga Palomnik*', pp. CXXII-CXXV.

(23) L. V. ALEKSEEV, *Polotskaja zemlja. Očerki istorii severnoj Belorusii*, Moscow, 1966, p. 260 ; IDEM, *Polotskaja zemlja*, in *Drevnerusskie knjažestva X-XIII vv.*, ed. L. G. BESKROVN'J, Moscow, 1975, pp. 230-232.

time. Upon hearing about Mstislav's expedition the people of Polotsk rebelled against the prince David (eldest son of Vseslav Brjačislavič) and invited his brother and Mstislav's protégé Rogvolod to be their prince ([24]). In this way the Kievan Grand prince managed to establish his control over the Polotsk lands, which lived their isolated life. We know so little about Rogvolod that it is imposible to verify the other details. One thing is certain : the sources are strong in their affirmation that he had died in 1128 ([25]). As far as I know this fact has never been questioned. The chronicler tells us that one year later (1129) Mstislav exiled the brothers of the late Boris (David, Rostislav and Svjatoslav) and his sons (Basil and John) along with their wives and children to Constantinople ([26]). This exile shows the close ties between Mstislav and Byzantium at the time. Unfortunately, Loparev confuses the princes of Polotsk and I have no idea on what grounds he imagined that David and Boris are one and the same person. It is an indispensable fact that the sources make a clear distinction between them. He also neglected the fact that according to the later *Gust'nskaja letopis* the baptismal name of Rogvolod was namely Boris ([27]). Such double names are perfectly common at this time. This evi-.

(24) ALEKSEEV, *Polotskaja zemlja. Očerki*, pp. 260-261.

(25) *Polnoe Sobranie russkich letopisej*, St. Petersburg, 1846, vol. I, 2. *Prodolženie Lavrentievskoj letopisi*, p. 131 : *s. a.* 6636 (1128) (hereafter cited as *PSRL*) ; *PSRL*, St. Petersburg, 1845, vol. II. *Ipatievskaja letopis*, p. 293 : *s. a.* 6637 (1129) ; *PSRL*, Moscow – Leningrad, 1949, vol. XXV. *Moskovskij letopisn'j svod kontsa XV veka*, p. 31 : *s. a.* 6636 (1128) ; *PSRL*, Leningrad, 1989, vol. XXXVIII. *Radzivilovskaja letopis*, p. 106 : *s. a.* 6636 (1128).

(26) *PSRL*, vol. I, 2, *loc. cit.* ; *PSRL*, vol. II, pp. 293, 304 ; *PSRL*, vol. XXV, *loc. cit.* ; *PSRL*, vol. XXXVIII, p. 107 ; ALEKSEEV, *Polotskaja zemlja. Očerki*, p. 260 ; ALEKSEEV, *Polotskaja zemlja*, p. 231. According to V. N. TATIŠČEV, *Istorija Rossijskaja*, vol. II, Moscow, 1848, p. 241, they were welcomed by the Emperor and were sent on the East, where they took part in the war against the Muslims. The choice of Constantinople as a place of exile shows the close ties between Russia and Byzantium and the fact that Mstislav could trust the Byzantine emperor to guard the prince captives well : M. I. LEVČENKO, *Očerki po istorii russko-vizantijskich otnošenij*, Moscow, 1956, p. 478 ; V. T. PAŠUTO, *Vnešnjaja politika drevnej Rusi*, Moscow, 1968, p. 187 ; G. G. LITAVRIN, *Rus' i Vizantija v XII v.*, in *Vopros' istorii*, 7 (1972), p. 45.

(27) *PSRL*, vol. II, p. 293 : Представися князь Полоцкій Рогволод или Борисъ (Prince of Polotsk Rogvolod or Boris passed away) ; ALEKSEEV, *Polotskaja zemlja. Očerki*, p. 252 ; ALEKSEEV, *Polotskaja zemlja*, p. 230.

dence constitutes one of the chief reasons for rejecting the view of Loparev. Rogvolod-Boris was undoubtedly already dead ; had he been along with his brothers, his name would certainly have been mentioned by the chronicler. It is difficult to believe that his body was transported from Polotsk to Constantinople, a point so distant from his fatherland ! All this implies that he never entered the confines of the Byzantine Empire. Therefore, this individual cannot be regarded as Boris, which was buried in the church of St. Plato. In sum, neither Tikhomirov's nor Loparev's attempt is at all successful.

As I have already said, for my part, I retain the assumption that a more likely candidate for the individual in question is Boris Kalamanovič, which was a son of the Hungarian king Kálmán (1095-1116) ([28]). Following the death of his first wife Busilla, Kálmán remarried. His second wife was Euphemia, the daughter of the Kievan Grand Prince Vladimir Monomach (1113-1125). However, the second marriage of the king was unfortunate ; Kálmán accused his second wife of adultery and in 1113 sent her back to Russia, where she bore a son, Boris ([29]). When in 1116

(28) The evidence about Boris was assembled by V. G. VASIL'EVSKIJ, *Iz istorii Vizantii v XII veke (Souz dvuch imperij [1148-1155]). II. Boris Kolomanovič*, in *Slavjanskij sbornik*, vol. II, St. Petersburg, 1877, pp. 79-91 (hereafter VASIL'EVSKIJ, *Boris Kolomanovič*) ; K. GROT, *Iz istorii Ugrii i Slavjanstva v XII veke (1114-1173)*, Warsaw, 1889, pp. 4, 22, 24, 27-28, 69, 78-85, 111, 117-120, 182, 184, 200, 203-204 ; Fr. CHALANDON, *Les Comnène : Études sur l'empire byzantin au XI^e et au XII^e siècles*, II : *Jean II Comnène (1183-1143) et Manuel I Comnène (1143-1180)*, Paris, 1912, pp. 62-63, 401, 406-407, 413-414 ; S. P. ROSANOV, *Evfimija Vladimirovna i Boris Kolomanovič. Iz evropejskoj politiki XII v.*, in *Izvestija Akademii Nauk SSSR. Otdelenie gumanitarnich nauk*, 8 (1930), pp. 585-599 and 9, pp. 649-671 (hereafter ROSANOV, *Boris Kolomanovič*) ; A. B. URBANSKY, *Byzantium and the Danube frontier*, New York, 1968, pp. 39, 47, 62, 70, 74, 81 ; V. LAURENT, *Arétè Doukaina, la kralaina*, in *BZ*, 62 (1972), pp. 35-39 ; Ch. BRAND, *Boris Kalamanovič*, in *ODB*, p. 311 ; A. KAZHDAN, *Kalamanos*, in *ODB*, p. 1091.

(29) VASIL'EVSKIJ, *Boris Kolomanovič*, pp. 79-80 with cited sources ; ROSANOV, *Boris Kolomanovič*, 8, pp. 587, 589, 591 ; K. GROT, *op. cit.*, p. 22 ; Fr. CHALANDON, *op. cit.*, p. 62 ; Gy. MORAVCSIK, *Byzantinoturcica*, II, 2nd ed., Berlin, 1958, p. 96 calls him "angeblicher jüngerer Sohn des ungarischen Königs Koloman" ; A. B. URBANSKY, *op. cit.*, p. 39 ; V. LAURENT, *op. cit.*, p. 35. The reason about her repudation was possibly due to the change of Monomach's policy towards Volhynia and Byzantium : ROSANOV, *Boris Kolomanovič*, 8, pp. 589, 593 ; V. T. PAŠUTO, *op, cit.*, p. 167.

Kálmán died, his eldest son of the first marriage István (Stephen) succeeded as István II (1114-1131). Kálmán's second son Boris had been ousted from succession.

Two details, concerning the life of this representative of the House of Árpád, are of particular importance for our inquiry. It should be emphasized, at the first place, his connection with Russia. The fact that Boris was Russian on his mother's side may explain to some extent the important role which Russia played in his life. We happen to be informed from the sources that he was born and raised in Kiev ([30]). Though little is known about his childhood, we may suppose that he accepted the Orthodox faith and received an appropriate to a prince upbringing. There is good reason to believe that the years which he spent in the court of his grandfather, Vladimir Monomach, influenced Boris very much ([31]). This is confirmed by the fact that he went back to Russia several times in expectation of support from the Kievan Prince ([32]). This shows that his connection with Russia was alive long after he had left Kiev.

Upon the discovery of his plot against István II, between 1128 and 1130 Boris fled to Constantinople, hoping that with the aid of the Emperor he would be able to acquire Hungarian throne ([33]). Again one has to ask the question why. The simplest explanation of the question would be that by this time, Constantinople was becoming a center for Hungarian

(30) VASIL'EVSKIJ, *Boris Kolomanovič*, p. 80, with reference to the continuator of Cosmas of Prague ; ROSANOV, *Boris Kolomanovič*, 8, p. 594 and 9, p. 649 ; K. GROT, *op. cit.*, pp. 23, 79.

(31) According to VASIL'EVSKIJ, *Boris Kolomanovič*, p. 80, Boris had been raised as a Russian prince.

(32) It is enough to note that in 1131 Boris was sent by John II Komnenos to Russia, to start a war against the Hungarian kingdom. However, Mstislav's death in 1132 and the marriage of his granddaughter Ephrosyne with Géza II of Hungary (1141-1162) may be said to mark the end of Boris's hope to find support from his mother's fatherland : ROSANOV, *Boris Kolomanovič*, 9, p. 653 ; A. B. URBANSKY, *op. cit.*, p. 47 ; GY. MORAVCSIK, *Byzantium and the Magyars*, Budapest, 1970, p. 78. The reason for Geza's marriage alliance with Izjaslav Mstislavič (1146-1154) was the threat of Kievan support for Boris : M. F. FONT, *Politische Beziehungen zwischen Ungern und der Kiever Rus' im 12. Jahrhundert*, in *Ungarn Jahrbuch*, 18 (1990), p. 10. See also M. I. LEVČENKO, *op. cit.*, p. 479.

(33) VASIL'EVSKIJ, *Boris Kolomanovič*, p. 82 ; A. B. URBANSKY, *op. cit.*, p. 47 ; K. GROT, *op. cit.*, p. 24 ; ROSANOV, *Boris Kolomanovič*, 9, pp. 649-650.

dissidents ([34]). Personally, I believe that the most likely reason for his choice must have been another. The Byzantine capital may well have been chosen by Boris, probably because his relative, the daughter of the Prince Mstislav Vladimirovič, was married (*ca.* 1122) to a certain "царевич" (tsarevič) and lived there ([35]). However, the identification of this *tsarevič* has raised some difficulty to scholars, mainly because the sources are silent ([36]). It is possible that the two knew each other well, but the sources do not mention any meeting between them.

(34) Kálmán's brother Almoš and his son, Béla (the future Béla II "the Blind") ; Béla's son István (IV) ; István III's younger brother Béla (known as Alexios to the Byzantines). This was a specific mean of the Byzantine government to intervene in the internal affairs of Hungary by supporting and giving refuge in Constantinople to sedition's members of the Árpád dynasty : F. I. USPENSKIJ, *Istorija Vizantijskoj imperii*, vol. III, Moscow-Leningrad, 1948, p. 198 ; J. A. FINE, *op. cit.*, p. 234. The view of K. GROT (*op. cit.*, p. 27) also points in this direction. He has pointed out that the reason for Boris's choice is rather his Hungarian relative Piroska, the wife of John II Komnenos, who in 1118 became empress of Byzantium. The study by F. MAKK, *The Árpád and the Comneni : political relations between Hungary and Byzantium in the twelfth century*, Budapest, 1989, was unfortunately not available to me.

(35) *PSRL*, vol. II, *s. a.* 6630 (1121), p. 9 ; *PSRL*, vol. VII. *Letopis po Voskresenskomu spisku*, St. Petersburg, 1856, p. 25 : *s. a.* 6630 (1121), p. 25. See also ROSANOV, *Boris Kolomanovič*, 9, p. 652. As has already been noted the Kievan Prince was enjoying good relations with Byzantium and this is also confirmed by the fact that in 1129 the exiled princes of Polotsk were received in Constantinople. M. I. LEVČENKO, *op. cit.*, p. 478 ; V. T. PAŠUTO, *op, cit.*, p. 167, assumes that Boris arrived in Constantinople along with the exiled princes.

(36) There is disagreement among the scholars about this personality. One view is that he was the emperor's own heir, Alexios. This identification has gained acceptance in the works of HR. LOPAREV, *Brak Mstislavn' (1122)*, in *VV*, 9 (1902), pp. 418-445 ; S. PAPADIMITRIU, *Brak Mstislav' s Alekseem Komninom*, *VV*, 11 (1904), pp. 75-98 ; G. OSTROGORSKY, *Autokrator Joannes II and Basileus Alexios*, in *Seminarium Kondakovianum*, 10 (1938), p. 172 f. ; K. BARZOS, *Ἡ γενεαλογία τῶν Κομνηνῶν*, I, Thessalonike, 1984, pp. 339-348 ; M. I. LEVČENKO, *op. cit.*, p. 477 ; V. T. PAŠUTO, *op, cit.*, p. 168 and most recently P. MAGDALINO, *The Empire of Manuel I Komnenos, 1143-1180*, Cambridge, 1993, p. 206. For an opposing view see the study by A. P. KAZHDAN, *Rus' – Byzantine Princely Marriages in the Eleventh and Twelfth centuries*, in *Harvard Ukrainian Studies*, 12-13 (1988-1989), pp. 414-429, which reexamined these marriages. In our case, according to him (p. 423), we should bear in mind that

Boris was welcomed in the Byzantine court and John II Komnenos's relative was given him in marriage (37). Unfortunately, the sources do not mention who this lady was (38). Such marriages were more often motivated by a need to maintain relatives or rivals of a foreigner potentate in the City (39). They gained the Byzantine financial and diplomatic support for their efforts and were sent back to take power over their homelands. In this way the Emperor was trying to bring them into his sphere of influence. According to the Byzantine manner of thinking, when Byzantium gave the bride away, the act was a favor, which put the other side in a subordinate position (40). In our case, we have an example of how the Em-

"in far-away Kiev, the title [*tsarevič*] could be generously applied to any member of the Komnenian clan " and (p. 425) that "the term *tsarevič* was used by Kievan chroniclers in a vaguer sense than 'the son of an emperor'". Hence, he assumes that the daughter of Mstislav was merely married to a member of the Komnenian clan.

(37) For this marriage, see IOANNIS KINNAMOS, *Epitome rerum ab Ioannes et Manuele Comnenis gestarum*, ed. A. MEINEKE, Bonn, 1836, p. 117, 20-21 ; OTTO BISCHOP OF FREISING, *Chronicon. Historia de duabus civitatibus*, ed. A. SCHMIDT, Berlin, 1960, p. 536, 24. The French chronicler of the Second Crusade ODO DE DEUIL, *De profectione Ludovici VII in Orientm*, *PL*, 185, col. 1214 B, believed her to be a niece of John II ; See also VASIL'EVSKIJ, *Boris Kolomanovič*, pp. 82, 87 ; K. GROT, *op. cit.*, pp. 25, 69 ; FR. CHALANDON, *op. cit.*, p. 62 ; ROSANOV, *Boris Kolomanovič*, 9, pp. 652-653 ; A. B. URBANSKY, *op. cit.*, p. 47. MORAVCSIK, *Magyars*, p. 78.

(38) D. I. POLEMIS, *The Doukai. A contribution to Byzantine Prosopography*, London, 1968, p. 123, n. 2, has tried to identify her as the daughter of Zoe and George Botaneiates and thus he assumed that she belonged to the Doukas family. V. LAURENT, *op. cit.*, pp. 35-36, 39, has convincingly argued against Polemis's identification. According to him she must have been Arete Doukaina. On the contrary, A. KAZHDAN, *Princely Marriages*, p. 428, emphasizes that all conclusions of this kind are extremely hypothetical. MAGDALINO, *The Empire of Manuel I*, p. 55, also assumes that she was an imperial niece.

(39) On that side of the Byzantine diplomacy, see J. SHEPARD, *Byzantine diplomacy, A. D. 800-1204 : means and ends*, in *Byzantine diplomacy : Papers from the Twenty-fourth Spring Symposium of Byzantine Studies, Cambridge, March 1990*, ed. J. SHEPARD & S. FRANKLIN, Aldershot, 1992, pp. 60-61 ; R. MACRIDES, *Dynastic marriages and political kinship*, in *ibid.*, pp. 263-281 ; N. OIKONOMIDES, *Diplomacy*, in *ODB*, pp. 634-635.

(40) R. MACRIDES, *op. cit.*, p. 274.

peror might well utilize this marriage for his own political goals. Through Boris, Byzantium would interfere again in Hungarian matters. In other words, the Byzantines were presumably happy to have another pretender, if needed, as a threat to hold over the Hungarian king's head.

This marriage bears witness to the "arrival" of the Kalamanos family. It achieved a degree of prominence through its connection with the Doukas family ([41]). He was, therefore, treated with all due regard and generosity. In Byzantium he became known as Kalamanos. As a pretender, Boris had made several abortive attempts to acquire the Hungarian crown ([42]). For the sake of brevity, I shall not trouble the reader with their detailed description, which he can make for himself, but I should like only to remind that he was supported by several neighboring states. After his disappearance from the scene between 1135-1146 we can find Boris again in Constantinople, this time along with his young son Kálmán (baptismal name Constantine) ([43]). Around 1151, encouraged by Manuel I Komnenos, he invaded again Hungary. A little later, however, he was killed in a battle against the Coumans near the Danube River *ca.* 1155/6 ([44]).

(41) V. LAURENT, *op. cit.*, pp. 36, 39 ; D. I. POLEMIS, *op. cit.*, p. 123, with references to the sources, assumed that : "through his wife who was presumably a member of the Doukas family he became related to the imperial house". A. KAZHDAN, A. CUTLER, *Doukai*, in *ODB*, pp. 655-656.

(42) All of them are discussed in details by VASIL'EVSKIJ, *Boris Kolomanovič*, pp. 82, 83, 88-89, where the relevant sources are exhaustively reviewed. See also K. GROT, *op. cit.*, pp. 27, 78-79, 80, 82-85 ; M. GUMPLOWICZ, *Boris Kolomanowic, królewicz węgierski (1105-1156)*, in *Przeglad historyczky*, 2 (1906), p. 12 ; FR. CHALANDON, *op. cit.*, pp. 401, 406-407 ; ROSANOV, *Boris Kolomanovič*, 9, pp. 655-658, 661-662, 665, 668 ; A. B. URBANSKY, *op. cit.*, pp. 62, 70, 74, 80 ; R. KERBAL, *Byzantinische Prinzessinen in Ungarian zwischen 1050-1200 und ihr Einfluss auf das Arpadenkönigreich*, Wien, 1979, pp. 58-100 ; F. MAKK, *Contribution à la chronologie des conflits Hungaro-byzantins au milieu du XII^e siècle*, in *Zbor.*, 20 (1981), pp. 30, n. 23, 32, n. 31 ; P. STEPHENSON, *Manuel I Comnenus and Geza II : A revised Context and Chronology for Hungaro-Byzantine Relations, 1148-1155*, in *Bsl*, 55 (1994), pp. 251-277.

(43) VASIL'EVSKIJ, *Boris Kolomanovič*, p. 89 ; K. GROT, *op. cit.*, p. 79 ; FR. CHALANDON, *loc. cit.*, pp. 401, 406-407 ; ROSANOV, *Boris Kolomanovič*, 9, pp. 658, 665 ; A. B. URBANSKY, *op. cit.*, p. 47 and n. 39.

(44) The account of his death is found in NICETAE CHONIATAE, *Historia*, ed. J. L. VAN DIETEN, Berlin-New York, 1975, p. 93, 72-79 ; OTTONIS ET RAHEWINI, *Gesta*

What is known about the family in the subsequent generation is that the son of Boris, Constantine, entered the army of the emperor, and took part in the war against the Muslims during the reign of Manuel I Komnenos, when he distinguished himself by his bravery. He was raised to the rank of *sebastos* ("venerable") and although still young, held the post of the *dux* of Cilicia (1163-1164 ; *ca.* 1173) ([45]). Together with the Franks of Syria, he attacked the Muslims, but he was defeated and taken prisoner at the battle of Harîn in August 1164 by Nūr ad-Dīn Mahmūd, son of Zengi and *atabeg* of Aleppo and Damascus (1146-1174) ; his ransom was 150 silk garments ([46]). During his second tenure as *dux* of Cilicia in 1173, he was taken captive by Mleh, the prince of Cilician Armenia (1170-1174/5) ([47]). In 1166 Constantine presented Manuel I with a golden dish on which his triumphs in Hungary were depicted ([48]). Circa 1200, a member of the Kalamanos family was mentioned once again in the sources as a lord of the Sampson district ([49]).

Frederici I. Imperatoris, ed. G. WEITZ, Hannover, 1884, *s. a.* 1156, p. 127. See also VASIL'EVSKIJ, *Boris Kolomanovič*, p. 91 ; K. GROT, *op. cit.*, pp. 182, 184, 203-204 ; FR. CHALANDON, *op. cit.*, p. 413 ; ROSANOV, *Boris Kolomanovič*, 9, p. 669 ; A. B. URBANSKY, *op. cit.*, p. 81.

(45) WILLIAM OF TYRE, *Chronikon*, *PL*, 201, 1, col. 755 calls him "... praeses Ciliciae, domini imperatoris consanguineus et imperialium in illa provincia procurator negotiorum" ; CHONIATES, p. 140. 62 σεβαστὸν Κωνσταντίνου τὸν Καλαμάνου ; FR. CHALANDON, *op. cit.*, pp. 526-527, n. 4 ; 530 ; KAZHDAN, *Kalamanos*, *loc. cit.*, p. 1091 ; MORAVCSIK, *Magyars*, p. 78 ; VASIL'EVSKIJ, *Boris Kolomanovič*, p. 91 ; V. LAURENT, *op. cit.*, p. 39 ; *Prosopographische Lexikon der Palaiologenzeit*, ed. E. TRAPP, vol. I, 5, Wien, 1981, p. 21, 10221-10223. By this time the title *sebastos* was usually used for more distant relatives of the reigning Emperor or simply honorary members of the imperial family. According to L. STIERNON, *Notes de titulature et de prosopographie byzantines. Sébaste et gambros*, in *REB*, 23 (1965), p. 229, more than 90 percent of *sebastoi* belonged to the ruling family. See also A. KAZHDAN, *Sebastos*, in *ODB*, p. 1863. MAGDALINO, *The Empire of Manuel I*, pp. 181-183.

(46) FR. CHALANDON, *op. cit.*, p. 525 and n. 2 ; MAGDALINO, *The Empire of Manuel I*, p. 72.

(47) FR. CHALANDON, *op. cit.*, pp. 530, 532.

(48) D. I. POLEMIS, *op. cit.*, pp. 123 and n. 5, 124 ; MAGDALINO, *The Empire of Manuel I*, p. 475. His name is to be found on a Byzantine lead seal : V. LAURENT, *op. cit.*, p. 35, n. 1.

(49) MORAVCSIK, *Byzantinoturcica*, II, p. 147.

Turning to the family property at the Byzantine capital, in the next place, we can find one further indication also in favour of our assumption. It is known that the family Kalamanos owned a mansion in Constantinople, which was named "the Kalamanos palace" ([50]). It was a vast complex with mosaic decorated churches, richly inlaid floors and other costly decoration, which originally belonged to the Botaneiates family ([51]). We do not exactly know what happened to the family mansion after the founder's death. It seems that his son Constantine retained certain rights over it, but in 1192 the palace had passed into the hands of the Genoese with its dependent hours in the Kalybia district ([52]). We are fortunate in possessing detailed description of the complex in decay when, after the Genoese, it housed German mercenaries ([53]). There is reason to think, therefore, that the family had either died out or had otherwise lost possession of their palace ([54]). The latter would not be so strange if we

(50) P. MAGDALINO, *The Byzantine Aristocratic oikos*, in *The Byzantine aristocracy*, ed. M. ANGOLD, Oxford, 1984 (= *BAR International Series*, 221), pp. 91-111, on the aristocratic οἶκος in its various senses ; A. J. CAPPEL, *Oikos*, in *ODB*, vol. III, p. 1517 ; MAGDALINO, *The Empire of Manuel I*, pp. 114-115, 119, 169, 186-187, 305 ; P. MAGDALINO, *Constantinople médiévale. Etudes sur l'évolution des structures urbaines*, Paris 1996, pp. 10, 78-79, 82 (= *Travaux et Mémoires. Monographies*, 9).

(51) M. ANGOLD, *Inventory of the so-called Palace of Botaneiates*, in IDEM, *Byzantine aristocracy*, Appendix, p. 265 ; D. I. POLEMIS, *op. cit.*, p. 123, n. 2 states that : "the name of Botaneiates might have been that of one his (Constantine) maternal ancestors".

(52) See the chrysobull of Isaac II Angelos dated April 1192 in *MM*, vol. III, p. 28, which calls it οἶκον τοῦ Καλαμάνου ἤτοι τοῦ Βοτανειάτου ; as well as R. JANIN, *Constantinople Byzantine : Développement urbain et répertoire topographique*, 2nd ed., Paris, 1964, pp. 250, 326, 363 (hereafter, cited as JANIN, *CP byz.*[2]) ; M. BALARD, *La Romanie génoise*, vol. II, Genoa, 1978, pp. 883-885 ; CH. BRAND, *Byzantium confronts the West, 1180-1204*, Cambridge Mass., 1968, pp. 210, 214, 218 ; MAGDALINO, *Aristocratic oikos*, p. 95 ; MAGDALINO, *Constantinople médiévale*, p. 84 ; K. CIGGAAR, *Western Travellers to Constantinople. The West and Byzantium, 962 – 1204 : Cultural and Political Relations*, Leiden, 1996, p. 273, n. 55.

(53) The original Greek text was published by *MM*, pp. 55-57 ; The text is also translated into English : M. ANGOLD, *op. cit.*, pp. 259-262. See also K. CIGGAAR, *op. cit.*, p. 273.

(54) M. ANGOLD, *op. cit.*, p. 265.

remember Andronikos I's savage attack upon aristocracy. It may have functioned as the administrative center of the Guerio family in Constantinople ([55]). But where exactly was the family's mansion of Kalamanos within Constantinople ? Was it, as the traditional view maintain ([56]), on the slope of the Second Hill, which descends towards the Golden Horn and close to Neorion, or on the other site ([57]) ? Unfortunately, the existing indications are absolutely unclear and insufficient to determine its exact location within the capital. Yet it may be said that the traditional location at the old Ottoman ministry of police are not very convincing. In any case, if we adopt this location the palace would be not so far away from the church of St. Plato (a distance of ca. 500 m). The site of this palace is of great significance for us, because if I am not mistaken, it was not far away from the church of St. Plato.

Let us now turn our attention to another piece of evidence. Before speaking of the church of St. Plato, Antony mentions the portico of St. George where he saw the body of the Russian priest Leontios : "А оттолѣ на уболѣ святаго Георгия святы Леонтий, попъ русин, лежить в тѣлѣ: великъ человѣкъ; той бо Леонтии 3-жъ во Ерусалимъ пѣщь ходилъ" (From there, the body of the Priest Leontios, the great man, reposes in the Embolos of St. George ; this same Leontios went on foot to Jerusalem for three times) ([58]). The term "уболѣ" (ubol)

(55) M. Balard, *loc. cit.*, p. 284 ; K. Ciggaar, *loc. cit.*, p. 273.

(56) This palace is usually identified with the site of the old Ottoman ministry of police, where a number of substructures, including a massive cistern, were discovered : Janin, *CP byz*^{2}, pp. 251, 326 ; as well as W. Müller-Wiener, *Bildlexikon zur Topographie Istanbuls*, Tübingen, 1977, p. 41. On Müller-Wiener's Plan it stood in Acımusluk Sokağı.

(57) See A. Berger, *Zur Topographie der Ufergegend am Goldenen Horn in der byzantinischen Zeit*, in *Istanbuler Mitteilungen*, 45 (1995), p. 160, which leaves the question concerning its location open and put the caption twice on the sketch (Abb. 2 Das Ufer des Goldenen Horns von Perama nach Osten), both times with a question mark.

(58) *'Kniga Palomnik'*, pp. 29-30 ; 88. The question to which individual the name Leontios belonged is the most difficult one. Antony does not give any further details about him, except that he had made three visits to Jerusalem. Even in our present state of knowledge, no answer which will commend itself as perfectly satisfactory can be given to the question. Consequently, we can do no more than briefly list the opinions which prevailed long ago before us. One thing is certain : there is disagreement among the scholars about this enigmatic person-

is here being used in the meaning of a "portico" ([59]). Perhaps, it is a scribal error whereby the Greek term was misunderstood. The portico of St. George does not seem to be mentioned in other literary sources (as far as I know) ([60]). There must presumably have been a church dedicated to St. George, after which the portico was named ([61]). However, neither the builder, nor the date of the construction, nor the exact location is known. Apparently, the church was situated in a very short distance from that portico or even directly in it. If we want to understand the passage just quoted, we must pay attention for a moment to the "Inventory of the palace of Kalamanos/Botaneiates". Here we have a precious evidence that a public highway was situated near the Kalamanos palace ([62]). We are not wrong if we assume that such a highway corresponds exactly to the portico leading from the Forum of Constantine (or, rather a little bit west of it) to the shores of the Golden Horn ([63]). If we take into consideration this fact, we can assume that when Antony speaks of the portico of St. George as he does here, he means essentially the portico, which joined the Forum of Constantine to the Golden Horn. Thus his information here

ality. Hr. LOPAREV (*'Kniga Palomnik'*, pp. CXVI-CXVII) and D. V. AJNALOV (in his review of J. P. RICHTER, *Quellenschriften für Kunstgeschichte und Kunsttechnik des Mittelalters und der Neuzeit*, Wien, 1897, in *VV*, 5 [1898], p. 271) has suggested that he was a Greek man, while A. I. JACIMIRSKIJ (*Novie dannye o hoždenie archiepiskopa Antonija v Tsar'grad*, in *Izvestija Otdelenija russkogo jazyka i slovestnosti*, 4 [1899], p. 245) has tried to identify him as a Moldavian from Radauz. According to A. N. PYPIN (*Istorij russkoj literatur'*, vol. I, St. Petersburg, 1899, p. 408), however, Leontios may rather have been one of the unknown Russian pilgrims. This view is supported by M. N. TIKHOMIROV (*Istoričeskie svjazi russkogo naroda s juznnymi slavjanami s drevnejšich vremen do polovin' XVII v.*, in *Slavjanskj sbornik* [1947], p. 163). One would assume that the body of Leontios was sheltered in a church dedicated to his memory or in St. George's church. The exact position of the former cannot be determined. What is significant here, is that Leontios, too, had demonstrable connection with Russia.

(59) On the meaning of the term, see I. I. SREZNEVSKIJ, *Material' dlja slovarja drevnerusskogo jazyka po pismen'm pamjatnikam*, vol. III, St. Petersburg, 1903, col. 20, 827 and 1116.

(60) On the portico see JANIN, *CP byz*[2], p. 92.

(61) JANIN, *Églises* and JANIN, *CP byz*[2] omits to mention this church.

(62) *MM*, p. 57 : ...τὴν δημοσίαν ὁδὸν εἰσόδου ἐννέα ....

(63) M. ANGOLD, *loc. cit.*, p. 265 ; JANIN, *CP byz*[2], *loc. cit.*, pp. 91-92.

seems acceptable and now regarding the name of that portico there is no doubt. This is a plausible suggestion but, of course, further evidence is needed to prove it. That is, however, only part of the picture. Following the Russian trace, we find in Antony's account another evidence about them in this area. I have in mind Antony's statement that : "Конець же Русскаго убола церковь святыхъ 40 мученикъ, и мощи ихъ ту лежать (а иныя мощи въ Севастии) ..." (The church of the Holy Forty Martyrs is at the end of the Russian Embolos) (64). He describes its location as one go from north (Perama) to south (Mesê) through the valley of the Grand Bazaar. Yet he categorically says that the church of the Holy Forty Martyrs lay at the end of the portico (65). The accuracy of information given by Antony about that church has been confirmed many times so far. From the order in which the churches visited by Antony of Novgorod are mentioned, it seems that we are dealing with the Great Porticoed Street of Maurianos (66). The name he bestowed on the portico

(64) '*Kniga Palomnik*', p. 88. On the church and its history, see JANIN, *Églises*, p. 499, and JANIN, *CP byz*[2], pp. 168, 415, 427. However, he incorrectly speaks about the existence of three different churches dedicated to the Holy Forty Martyrs : n[os] 3, 5 and 6 respectively. This error originated from confusion of Σοφιαναῖς with τὰ Σοφίαις and incorrect location of the Tetrapylon : BERGER, *Untersuchungen*, pp. 320, n. 63, 436-437 (on τὰ Σοφίαις, Σοφιαναῖς) and 318-321 (on the church) ; A. BERGER, *Das Chalkun Tetrapylon und Parastaseis, Kapitel 57*, in *BZ*, 90 (1997), pp. 8-11 (my immediate thanks go to Dr A. Berger who was kind to send me his article) ; C. MANGO, *Le développement urbain de Constantinople (IV-VII siècles)*[2] (*Travaux et Mémoires, Monographies*, 2), Paris, 1990, p. 31, n. 52, pointed out that Janin's churches n° 3 and n° 6 are identical (hereafter MANGO, *Le développement*).

(65) In favor of such an assumption we can quote the statement of the chronicler Theophanes (d. 818), who says that in 394/5 the Emperor Arkadios built the big portico (*Megas embolos*) *opposite* the Praetorium : THEOPHANES, *Chronographia*, ed. C. DE BOOR, Leipzig, 1883-1885, I, p. 74, 23-24. For the Praetorium of the Praetorian Prefect, see C. MANGO, *Studies on Constantinople, Variorum Collected Studies*, Aldershot, 1993, Addenda, pp. 1-2 ; MANGO, *Le développement*, p. 71 ; JANIN, *CP byz*[2], p. 415 ; A. BERGER, *Chalkun Tetrapylon*, p. 10. It is an undeniable fact that the Praetorium was shortly afterwards replaced by the church of the Holy Forty Martyrs of Sebasteia.

(66) At various periods of the history of Constantinople, the same portico had different names : μακρὸς ἔμβολος, ἔμβολος τοῦ Δομνίνου, μακρὸς ἔμβολος τοῦ Μαυριανοῦ. For this see BERGER, *Untersuchungen*, pp. 321, 444, 738 ;

was *the Russian Embolos*. Moreover, the testimony of Antony of Novgorod constitutes a solid basis for supposing that the Russian holdings in Constantinople were concentrated in, but not limited to, the Russian quarter, known as the Russian Embolos, or Narrow Street of the Russians (67). It was in the Embolos that Russian businessmen resided and conducted their business. That seems to mean that the Russians occupied the best commercial real estate of the city along the Great Porticoed Street of Maurianos (68). I should like to make one consideration concerning the portico in question : it was not continued in the direction of Propontida (69). This view again owes much to Antony of Novgorod.

Normally, porticoes were long, two storey-covered-structures with statues and monuments on the upper level and merchant's shops beneath. The porticoes in Constantinople have been rented out by the Byzantine Emperors to tradesmen and the rents provided regular income to the Crown that owned the land and the buildings. Moreover, the word ἔμβολος soon acquired a wider meaning and came to be applied to the whole quarter. Therefore, when Antony speaks of the Russian Embolos, he had in mind not merely a street where the Russian merchants regular-

MANGO, *Le développement*, pp. 31, 62. The consensus of scholarly opinion identifies it with the presentday Usunçarşicadesi (the Long Market), which still follows the original line of the artery linking the Mese and the Golden Horn : Dr A. D. Mordtmann was the first to prove this : IDEM, *Esquisse topographique de Constantinople*, in *Revue de l'Art chrétien*, ser. 4, 2, 1 (1891), p. 27 : "Appelée ajourd'hui Ouzon Tcharchi (le Marché long), cette rue portait à l'époque byzantine le nom de μακρὸν ἔμβολον, ce qui signifie la même chose que devait la dénomination turque" ; JANIN, *CP byz*^{2}, pp. 344-345, himself quotes Mordtmann.

(67) We should bear in mind that by this time the Russian colony in Galata continued also to be a center of Russian interests in the city : '*Kniga Palomnik*', pp. CXXI-CXXII ; M. TIKHOMIROV, *Puti iz Rossii v Vizantii v XIV-XV vv.*, in *Vizantijskie očerki*, 1 (1961), p. 30.

(68) JANIN, *CP byz*^{2}, p. 92 ; MANGO, *Le développement*, p. 62 ; BERGER, *Untersuchungen*, p. 443 ; W. MÜLLER-WIENER, *Die Häfen von Byzantion, Konstantinopolis, Istanbul*, Tübingen, 1994, p. 16.

(69) I have been able to establish this fact during my stay at Istanbul in 1999. In a private letter Dr A. Berger has suggested to me that there was no street leading south from the Tetrapylon, because the hill is simply too steep and that only a flight of steps (βάθρα) is mentioned there by the sources.

ly sold their goods, but the whole quarter where they lived (70). Hence, if you asked anyone about the Russians in Constantinople, you would be told that they were on the Russian Embolos (71). The reader will by now be aware of how well-informed was Antony of Novgorod. But, what is most important for us here, is that once again we find the Russians in the immediate proximity of the church of St. Plato.

Moreover, the statements of Antony does not conflict with what others affirm regarding this part of the city. Since such an assumption can be deduced from Antony's evidence and since it seems to solve old problems rather than to create new ones, we may be permitted to return to the questions raised at the start of our inquiry. If it is so, Antony's remark concerning the church of St. Plato gives strong implications about Boris Kalamanovič.

When all these findings are combined with what is known about Boris, then a simpler and more probable explanation of our first question would be that the founder of the Kalamanos family was buried in the church of St. Plato. Such an assumption could explain Antony's statement that he saw the body of Boris there. Certainly one can not give an absolutely positive answer to this question, but neither can the possibility be excluded.

It remains to solve the question why Antony felt obliged to add a reference to Boris ? Perhaps, no answer, which will commend itself as perfectly satisfactory, can be given to the question. The answer, indeed, is not so surprisingly difficult as it might seem when we remember the author's exceptional interest in everything connected with Russia in the Byzantine capital. Evidently, this connection is at the root of Antony's enigmatic statement about Boris. All our knowledge of Boris indicates that the link between him and Russia was, as we have seen, unquestionable. We shall not be too far from the truth in supposing that according to Antony, due to the kinship with the House of Monomach, Boris must have been identified as a Russian and he cannot be identified as any other. At the same time, Antony was in regular contact with the Russian com-

(70) If we accepted the affirmation of TIKHOMIROV, *Drevnerusskie goroda*, p. 126, one would assume that the church dedicated to St. George (or St. Leontios) was under the jurisdiction of the Russians. This church, belonging to the Russian community, could assist compatriots who needed help.

(71) In this article, I do not touch upon that Embolos in details, but I hope to analyze it on another occasion.

munity at Constantinople. Therefore, he was better informed concerning the Russians than any one else at the time. We should not be surprised, then, that he mentions the founder of the Kalamanos family by name. Antony's own guide introduced him to the church of St. Plato where the body of Boris was kept. He was so impressed by the fact that he was in front of the tomb of Vladimir Monomach's grandson that he found it was worth mentioning it. We can only regret, that Antony's notice contains no details, and I suppose it probably is because Boris was well enough known to the Russians.

Now we may be permitted to wonder how Antony got acquainted with the information concerning Boris : through his own eyes or by hearsay. Rather, someone who knew well the story of the Kalamanos family told him the name of its founder Boris. He does not usually say who his informants were, but I believe that they should be sought mainly among the native inhabitants or the Russians of the City. It is true that Antony refers on a number of occasions to local guides. In other words, he too may have taken his own guide with him, or have made use of the resident Russians. However, I do not wish to rule out the possibility that he recorded what he had seen himself. Both answers to the question before us have much in their favour, and possibly the truth on the subject is to be found in their combination.

What can be said in conclusion ? To me it is obvious. As the author of *Kniga Palomnik* spent some time in the Byzantine capital, and was not merely a transitory visitor, his testimony concerning the person in question can be regarded as reliable. Moreover, the accuracy of Antony can be maintained only by the identification of "Боринъ" with Boris Kalamanovič. By this identification, a flood of light is shed upon this person. And so, though not absolutely certain, it is extremely likely that the famous pretender to the Hungarian crown was buried at the church of St. Plato after his death in 1154 ([72]).

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(72) According to Hr. LOPAREV, '*Kniga Palomnik*', p. CII, a bit of the Boris relics is reported to be at the Russian monastery of St. Panteleimon on Mount Athos.

THE *NOUTHESIA* AND THE LAW OF MOSES (*)

I. Introduction : During the reign of Constantine V, the Iconophiles composed a treatise entitled, *Nouthesia* (*Νουθεσία γέροντος περὶ τῶν ἁγίων εἰκόνων*) (1). In it, an 'old man' named Georgios, an Iconophile, engages in a fictitious dialogue with an Iconoclastic bishop named 'Cosmas', whom the text portrays as being loyal to the imperial policies and theological views of the emperor Constantine V (2). From the *proem* we learn that Cosmas convoked the meeting with the old man, Georgios, by the authority of the emperor, who had ordered the bishop to challenge the Iconophiles' views. The *Nouthesia* records the disputation that allegedly ensued between them. Composed in three parts, the text consists of a prophecy by the Iconophile (part 1), a disputation between the

(*) I wrote this article while I was a Mary Seeger O'Boyle Post-Doctoral Research Fellow in the Program in Hellenic Studies at Princeton University. I would like to thank Alexander Alexakis for providing me with a copy of his new critical edition of the *Nouthesia*.

(1) B. M. MELIORANSKIJ, *Georgij Kiprianin i Ioann Ierusalimlianin, dva maloizviestnych borsta za pravoslavie v VIII viekie*, St Petersburg, 1901. There is also an edition by A. MISIDES, *Ἡ παρουσία τῆς Ἐκκλησίας Κύπρου εἰς τὸν ἀγῶνα ὑπὲρ τῶν εἰκόνων*, Leukosia, 1989, which considers the work to have been written by GEORGE OF CYPRUS.

Note that in the final paragraph of the *Nouthesia*, the author refers to himself as *Θεοσεβής*, which can be either a proper name or an epithet meant to describe his piety.

(2) It is impossible to identify either party to the dispute precisely. From the *Nouthesia* we learn only that Cosmas was an Iconoclastic bishop who was devoted to the emperor. GERO correctly argues that Cosmas cannot be identified with either the Melkite bishop of Epiphania in Syria, mentioned by THEOPHANES, or with the Chalcedonian bishop of Germanicia. S. GERO, *Byzantine Iconoclasm During the Reign of Constantine V*, Louvain, 1977, pp. 28-29. P. SPECK, *Ich bin's nicht, Kaiser Konstantin ist es gewesen*, *ΠΟΙΚΙΛΑ BYZANTINA* 10, Bonn, 1990, pp. 568, 570-573, 575, likewise considers both disputants to be fictional. See also F. WINKELMANNS *et al.*, ed., *Prosopographie der mittelbyzantinischen Zeit : Erste Abteilung (641-867)* II, Berlin, 2000, s. v. Kosmas, 4101, p. 615.

Iconophile and the Iconoclast (part 2), and a monologue by the Iconophile (part 3). Among the more interesting exchanges from the disputation in part two, Cosmas and the old man consider whether the law of Moses is relevant for Christians. Cosmas had argued earlier that the worship of religious images constituted idolatry in violation of the Second Commandment of the Decalogue (3). The old man responded that the Mosaic law, including the Second Commandment, no longer applied to Christians. In reaching that conclusion, the old man departed from previous arguments that Christians responding to the same charge had made in the Christian/Jewish dialogues between the fifth to eighth centuries and, for the first time, explicitly rejected the Second Commandment. Previous scholarship on the subject has not acknowledged that the old man Georgios thereby changed the contours of the Iconophile debate (4). In this paper I attempt to understand why Iconophile Christians, during the first phase of Iconoclasm, construed the law of Moses differently and did not simply repeat the arguments made by Christians in the centuries before.

II. Imperial Iconoclasm began to stir in the year 724/5 when the emperor Leo III made public statements suggesting that the sacred icons be removed (5). The controversy escalated the following year (725/6) when Leo ordered his soldiers to destroy the famous image of Christ above the

(3) There are of course two versions of the Decalogue, *Ex.* 20, 1-17, and *Dt.* 5, 6-21, and several ways of numbering the commandments contained therein. I shall refer to the prohibition against idolatry as the Second Commandment of the Decalogue.

(4) In discussing the *Νουθεσία*, a few scholars have mentioned topics that are related to this shift in the Byzantine's attitude toward the Mosaic law, but have not addressed it directly. See for example, S. GERO, *Constantine V*, pp. 25-36 ; P. CRONE, *Islam, Judeo-Christianity and Byzantine Iconoclasm*, in *Jerusalem Studies in Arabic and Islam*, 2 (1980), p. 64 ; L. W. BARNARD, *The Graeco-Roman and Oriental Background of the Iconoclastic Controversy*, Leiden, 1974, p. 48 ; G. DAGRON, *Judaïser*, *TM* 11 (1991), p. 367 ; M. SIMON, *Verus Israel*, Oxford, 1986, p. 149 ; V. DÉROCHE, *L'Apologie contre les Juifs de Léontius de Neapolis*, *TM*, 12 (1994), p. 47.

(5) *Theophanis Chronographia*, C. DE BOOR, ed., Leipzig, 1883, vol. I, p. 404 ; *The Chronicle of Theophanes Confessor, Byzantine and Near Eastern History AD 284-813*, C. MANGO, R. SCOTT, transl., Oxford, 1997, AM 6217, AD 714/5. See *ibid.* n. 1 ; M. V. ANASTOS, *Leo III's Edict Against the Images in the Year 726-27 and Italo-Byzantine Relations between 726 and 730*, *BF*, 3 (1968), pp. 5-41, esp. pp. 8-10.

Bronze Gate (6), whereupon the Iconophiles, deeply troubled by Leo's actions, lynched the soldiers responsible for carrying out the imperial command (7). Their more reasoned response came in the form of letters and treatises which, in the early stages of the controversy, defended the veneration of images against the written attacks of their opponents, the Iconoclasts, who had based their arguments against icons on a strict interpretation of the Second Commandment : "Thou shalt worship no graven images". From several texts composed by the Iconophiles we learn that this commandment served as the rallying cry of the Iconoclasts at the onset of the theological debates (8). Since most of our evidence for the period comes from texts written by the Iconophiles — only a few texts by the Iconoclasts survive — it is difficult to say whether the Iconoclasts themselves were motivated by a sincere desire to uphold this commandment

(6) *Theophanis Chronographia*, C. De Boor, ed., pp. 404-405 ; *The Chronicle of Theophanes*, C. Mango, R. Scott, transl., AM 6218, AD 725/6. For an early account (730's) of Leo's destruction of images, see Germanus, *De Haeresibus et Synodis*, *PG*, 98, col. 80B-C, discussed by S. Gero in *Byzantine Iconoclasm During the Reign of Leo III : With Particular Attention to the Oriental Sources*, *CSCO*, vol. 346, t. 41, Louvain, 1973, p. 97 ; G. Ostrogorsky, *Les débuts de la querelle des images*, *Mélanges Charles Diehl*, Paris, 1930, pp. 238-242. On 17 January 730, Leo issued an imperial decree against icons. *Theophanis Chronographia*, C. De Boor, ed., pp. 408-409 ; *The Chronicle of Theophanes*, C. Mango, R. Scott, transl., AM 6221, AD 728/9.

(7) *Theophanis Chronographia*, C. De Boor, ed., p. 405 ; *The Chronicle of Theophanes*, C. Mango, R. Scott, transl., AM 6218, AD 725/6. See *ibid.* n. 5, regarding the *Vita Stephani iun.*, *PG* 100, col. 1085C ; M.-F. Auzépy, *La Vie d'Étienne le Jeune par Étienne le Diacre*, Aldershot, 1997, p. 100, which states that Leo's men removed the image in 730. See also G. Ostrogorsky, *Les débuts*, pp. 241ff. For a different view see M.-F. Auzépy, *La destruction de l'icône du Christ de la Chalcé par Léon III : propagande au réalité ?*, *Byz.*, 60 (1990), pp. 445-492.

(8) S. Germanus Constantinopolitanus, *Mansi*, t. XIII, 100B-C : "And he [Constantine of Nacolia] proposed to us the defense . . . that he heard Holy Scripture say : You shall not make any likeness, to worship it, [a likeness of] whatever [things] there are in the heavens above, and of whatever [things] there are upon the earth". Cited and translated by S. Gero, *Leo III*, p. 103. See also the first letter of Pope Gregory, J. Gouillard, *Aux origines de l'Iconoclasme : Le témoignage de Grégoire II ?*, *TM*, 3 (1968), pp. 243-307, concerning which S. Gero says that the apocryphal letters of Gregory, even though they are late Byzantine productions, are possibly based on an Iconoclastic pamphlet that circulated under Leo's name. S. Gero, *Leo III*, p. 58, n. 33.

and the Decalogue from which it came, or whether the Iconophiles merely drew that inference after decades of responding to similar accusations that had been made by the Jews (9). Germanus, the Iconophile bishop of Constantinople from 715 to 730, acknowledged in a letter to Thomas, bishop of Claudiopolis, that the Jews often reproached the Christians, criticizing them for worshiping images in violation of the Second Commandment's prohibition against idolatry (10).

During the reign of Constantine V, the *Nouthesia* confronted these charges of idol worship by examining them in a fictitious dialogue between an Iconophile (the 'old man') and an Iconoclast (Cosmas). There Cosmas argued that the Second Commandment, being part of the Mosaic law, was still important for Christians even though Christ came 3000 years after Moses had reigned (11). Not satisfied with this reasoning, the old man wanted to know which of Moses' customs and traditions (*ἤθη καὶ παραδόσεις*) governed Christians. Cosmas replied, "The people of Christ do not receive the customs (*ἤθη*) of Moses, but his words (*λόγοι*) are kept forever". The distinction he proposed between "words" and "customs" troubled the old man who said, "If the people of Christ did not receive the customs of Moses, how are they able to keep his words ?" For Cosmas, the "words of Moses" included his verbal teachings and his commandments, all of which applied to Christians (12). The old man disagreed. He said that Christ had abolished the words and teachings of Moses — his command to keep the Sabbath, the new moons, and the unleavened bread. Those rituals applied only to the Jews (13). In response, Cosmas refined his understanding of which part of the Mosaic law was relevant for Christians, conceding that some teachings no longer applied after the advent of Christ, while others Christians were still obliged to keep (14). Without elaborating on the teachings included in the former category, in the latter he placed the Second Commandment, "do not make

(9) See generally P. SPECK, *Schweinefleisch und Bilderkult. Zur Bilderdebatte in den sogennanten Judendialogen, Τὸ Ἑλληνικόν. Studies in Honor of Speros Vryonis, Jr.*, vol. I., *Hellenic Antiquity and Byzantium*, J. S. LANGDON *et al.*, ed., New York, 1993, pp. 367-383.

(10) S. GERMANI CONSTANTINOPOLITANI, *Epistola* IV, *PG* 98, col. 168B. GERMANUS probably wrote the letter in the late 720's.

(11) B. M. MELIORANSKIJ, *Georgij Kiprianin i Ioann Ierusalimlianin, etc.*, 2.XI.

(12) *Ibid.*, 2.XI-XIII.

(13) *Ibid.*, 2.XIII.

(14) *Ibid.*, 2.XIII.

any likeness". As long as Christians do not worship carved images and icons, things made from the hands of men, then they are not in violation of this Mosaic decree. That concession did not satisfy the old man who retorted that nothing in the Old or New Testaments proscribed images of Christ ([15]). And whatever the prophets had said against icons they addressed to the pagan idol worshipers. From that he concluded that the law of Moses, which included the Decalogue, no longer applied ; but, even if it did, its prohibition against images was meant to eradicate only pagan worship ([16]).

In reaching that conclusion, the old man developed an earlier argument that John of Damascus had made in his Iconophile treatise on images, written after the outbreak of Iconoclasm in the reign of Leo III (and his son Constantine V). There John of Damascus said that images of Christ, Mary, and the saints did not violate the law, because Christians were no longer subject to the law. In making that claim, he repeated St. Paul's warning to the Galatians that ". . . every man who receives circumcision [. . .] is bound to keep the whole law" ([17]). By suggesting that the Second Commandment no longer applied, John of Damascus implicitly raised the larger question, which the *Nouthesia* later treats directly, of whether the Decalogue itself was relevant for Christians. For the first time since the early Christian period, when Paul's letter to the Galatians had debated whether Christians were bound to keep the Jewish law that prescribed the ritual of circumcision, Christians once again considered which parts of the Mosaic law applied to them and which the advent of Christ had abolished. Its continuing validity for the Christian church had never been questioned in the early Christian period. Barnabas, writing in the second century, believed that the Decalogue itself was still binding for Christians, even while he argued for a spiritual interpretation of Jewish sacrificial and cultic law ([18]).

(15) *Ibid.*, 2.XV.

(16) Pope Paschal I (817-824) said that the Second Commandment was a Jewish law that did not apply to Christians. G. MERCATI, ed., *Note di Letteratura biblica e Cristiana antica. ST,* 5, Rome, 1901, pp. 231-232.

(17) JOHN OF DAMASCUS, *Orationes de imaginibus tres* I.21, *Clavis Patrum Graecorum*, 8045, M. GEERARD, ed., Turnhout, 1974-1980 ; B. KOTTER, *Die Schriften des Iohannes von Damaskos III, Patristische Texte und Studien* 17, Berlin, 1975, p. 110 ; *PG* 94, col. 1253 C-D.

(18) *Epistula Barnabae*, R. A. KRAFT, *Épître de Barnabé*, *SC* 72, Paris, 1971 ; see for example chapters 9, 10, 15, 19.

John of Damascus' argument was a substantial departure from earlier arguments the Christians had made in response to charges of idolatry leveled against them by the Jews ([19]). Long before the controversy over images had erupted into an empire-wide dispute in which the emperor and his bureaucracy supported the Iconoclastic position, Christians composed a number of Christian/Jewish dialogues between the fifth and early eighth centuries that responded to these charges ([20]). Whether the dialogues record actual debates between Christians and Jews is impossible to say. Probably they represent something in between the two alternatives that many scholars have suggested : they are neither accurate transcripts of public debates, nor are they works of pure fiction, in which the "Jew" merely serves as a rhetorical construct for the villainous "other" ([21]). That these dialogues between Jews and Christians flourished during this

(19) There is some evidence that an Iconoclastic party existed in Asia Minor before Leo III moved against icons. For a discussion of the sources see S. GERO, who concludes that GERMANUS and TARASIUS overstate their evidence when they say that Iconoclasm originated in Asia Minor and not with the emperor Leo III. S. GERO, *Leo III*, pp. 85-93.

(20) A comprehensive discussion of these dialogues is well beyond the scope of this paper. For a survey of the sources and literature on the Christian/Jewish dialogues of the early Byzantine period, see A. V. CAMERON, *Byzantines and Jews : Some Recent Work on Early Byzantium*, *BMGS*, 20 (1996), pp. 249-274. See generally A. KÜLZER, *Disputationes Graecae Contra Iudaeos : Untersuchungen zur Byzantinischen antijüdischen dialogliteratur und ihrem judenbild*, *Byzantinisches Archiv*. b. 18, Stuttgart-Leipzig, 1999 ; Ch. BARBER, *The Truth in Painting : Iconoclasm and Identity in Early-Medieval Art*, *Speculum*, 72 (1997), pp. 1019-1036 ; V. DÉROCHE, *L'Apologie contre les Juifs*, pp. 45-104 ; IDEM, *L'authenticité de l'Apologie contre les Juifs de Léontios de Néapolis*, *Bulletin de correspondance hellénique*, 110 (1986), pp. 655-669 ; IDEM, *La polémique anti-judaïque de VI^e^ et VII^e^ siècle. Un mémento inédit : Les Képhalaia*, *TM*, 11 (1991), pp. 275-311 ; G. DAGRON, *Judaïser*, *TM*, 11 (1991), pp. 359-80 ; H. SCHRECKENBERG, *Die christlichen Adversus-Judaeos-Texte und ihr literarisches Umfeld*, 2 vols., Frankfurt, Bern, 1982, 1988 ; A. L. WILLIAMS, *Adversus Judaeos : A Bird's-Eye View of Christian Apologiae Until the Renaissance*, Cambridge, 1935. See also N. BAYNES, *The Icons before Iconoclasm*, in *Byzantine Studies and Other Essays*, London, 1955 ; E. KITZINGER, *The Cult of Images in the Age before Iconoclasm*, *DOP*, 8 (1954), p. 130, n. 204.

(21) In support of this view, see V. DÉROCHE, *La polémique anti-judaïque*, p. 283, 288, who notes that the anti-Jewish literature of the period contains aspects of real debates and, at the same time, repeats stereotyped arguments from earlier texts. Some of the anti-Jewish texts, such as the *Disputatio Anastasii* and the *Kephalaia*, were composed as polemical manuals.

period suggests, at the very least, that Jews and Christians were interacting with and speaking to one another about such matters (22). Leontius of Neapolis in his *Apology Against the Jews*, one of several such dialogues from the seventh century, argued that Christians did not worship manmade objects, for they worshiped neither the images themselves nor the material from which those images were made (23). Instead they understood the image as an intermediary between Christ/the Saints and themselves, and so they venerated what the image stood for, what it symbolized (24). Nowhere in the dialogue was the Christian made to question whether the Second Commandment and the remainder of the Mosaic law applied to them. To the contrary, the Christian gathered evidence from the Hebrew Scriptures to show that the veneration of icons was consistent with the Mosaic law. In the *Disputation of Sergius the Stylite Against a Jew*, written in Syriac in the early eighth century, Sergius defended Christians against charges of idolatry by finding "types" of Christian images in the Hebrew Scriptures (25). The rod of Moses being construed as a type of the Cross, the Hebrew Scriptures were interpreted as exhorting Christians to worship it (26). Similar to the *Apology* by Leontius of Neapolis, Sergius' *Disputation* never doubted that the Second Commandment was still valid for Christians. The *Dialogue of the Monk and Recluse Moschos*, written as early as the fifth century, made a similar argument in support of Christian images. Although the Cross was a manmade object, it was believed to have divine powers, and the Old

(22) See below, note 50. For the view that the dialogues represent fictional debates that address matters pertinent to contemporary reality, See V. DÉROCHE, *La polémique anti-judaïque*, pp. 281-289, esp. p. 289. See also, A. ALEXAKIS, *The Dialogue of the Monk and Recluse Moschos concerning the Holy Icons, An Early Iconophile Text, DOP*, 52 (1998), p. 208, n. 63. For the view that the Jews in these dialogues represent the Arabs, see the interesting study by D. OLSTER, *Roman Defeat, Christian Response and the Literary Construction of the Jew*, Philadelphia, 1994.

(23) V. DÉROCHE, *L'Apologie contre les Juifs*, pp. 45-104, p. 67 ; P. SPECK, *Adversus Iudaeos - pro imaginibus. Die Gedanken und Argumente des Leontios von Neapolis und des Georgios von Zypern, Varia VI, ΠΟΙΚΙΛΑ BYZANTINA* 15, Bonn, 1997, pp. 131-176.

(24) *Ibid.*, p. 67, lines 21-26 ; p. 68, lines 63-64.

(25) *The Disputation of Sergius the Stylite Against a Jew*, A. P. HAYMAN, ed., *CSCO*, vols. 338-39, Louvain, 1973.

(26) *Ibid.*, XII.3.

Testament kings Solomon and David had proclaimed the wood from which the Cross was made ([27]).

The *Nouthesia* and John of Damascus departed from this line of reasoning by stating that the Decalogue was no longer valid for Christians. Their interest in the matter was perhaps part of a broader trend in which Byzantine Christians were reconsidering whether the law of Moses was important for Christians. That very question had already been addressed in an anonymous treatise composed in the seventh century entitled, *Kephalaia*, which consisted of twenty-five chapters or questions posed to the Jews ([28]). Its purpose was to prove, by using syllogisms, that the law given to the Jews, having failed to save the nations, was only transitory and relative, while that ushered in by Christ, the "new law", was eternal and universal. Although many of its arguments had been made in prior centuries, the existence of such a treatise suggests that some Christians wished to identify themselves as being distinct from the Jews among them. That intent took an interesting turn in the eighth century. Zealous to reexamine the relevance of the Mosaic law for the governing of the Christian empire, Leo III and Constantine V issued the law code, known as the *Ecloga*, and its supplement no later than 741. Based on legal material gathered from Justinian, Theophilus, and the Council in Trullo ([29]), the *Ecloga* in its main body legislated on matters pertinent to everyday life — including marriage, gifts, wills, slaves, property, and contracts. In the Preamble, the emperors expressed their view that they had received their sovereign reign from God, in return for which they sought to emu-

(27) A. ALEXAKIS, *The Dialogue*, p. 191, line 57 - p. 192, line 72. A number of other Christian/Jewish dialogues also discuss the problem of image worship : *Quaestiones ad Antiochum ducem*, *PG* 28, col. 621, Q. xxxix ; STEPHEN OF BOSTRA, A. ALEXAKIS, *Stephen of Bostra : Fragmenta contra Iudaeos (Clavis Patrum Graecorum* 7790*) : A New Edition*, *JÖB*, 43 (1993), pp. 45-60 ; JEROME OF JERUSALEM, *A Dialogue Concerning the Holy Trinity, the discussion of a Jew with the Christian*, *PG* 40, col. 848-849 ; *The Dialogue of Papiscus and Philo*, A. C. MCGIFFERT, Marburg, 1889 ; PS. ANASTASIUS OF SINAI, *Διάθεσις κατὰ Ἰουδαίων*, *PG* 89, col. 1233C.

(28) V. DÉROCHE, *La polémique anti-judaïque*, pp. 297-311.

(29) *Ecloga : Das Gesetzbuch Leons III. und Konstantinos V.*, L. BURGMANN, ed., Frankfurt, 1983 ; *Ecloga Leonis et Constantini cum Appendice*, A. G. MONFERRATUS, ed., Athens, 1889 ; *A Manual of Roman Law : The Ecloga*, E. H. FRESHFIELD, ed., Cambridge, 1926. For the dating of this text see L. BURGMANN, *Ecloga*, pp. 10-13.

late Him and govern the empire justly ([30]). They also expected God to reward them for their efforts by making the empire secure against their enemies, thereby establishing a stable foundation for their reign. Theirs was a typical declaration of imperial theology, one that emperors had stated to varying degrees since the time of Constantine the Great. What is striking, however, is their implicit claim that the law of the empire should reflect the law of God. By reproducing for the empire the perfect system of rewards and punishments that God administered for humanity, the emperors wished to make prior laws more humane and to govern the empire in a manner that was consistent with divine law. That explains the frequent allusions to the Hebrew Scriptures throughout the *Ecloga*, the interest in applying its standard of justice to the administration of the empire ([31]). The modern scholars Bury and Freshfield were thus correct in naming the *Ecloga* the first Christian law book that the Roman empire officially published ([32]). Based on the laws of Justinian, it was, in the words of the Preamble, "improved in the direction of humanity" ([33]). That plan was further realized in the supplement to the *Ecloga* ([34]). It contained a synopsis of the Mosaic law in which were reproduced the Ten Commandments, along with a number of laws from the Pentateuch that could be loosely construed as legislating moral behavior — laws on homicide, rape, adultery, incest, usury, and widows.

(30) L. BURGMANN, *Ecloga*, pp. 160, 162 ; *Ecloga Leonis et Constantini cum Appendice*, A. G. MONFERRATUS, ed., pp. 1-2 ; *A Manual of Roman Law*, E. H. FRESHFIELD, ed., pp. 66-67.

(31) The Preamble mentions the story of Solomon and the just manner in which he determined who was the true mother of the child. The emperors urged the judges of the empire to adopt that as their standard for deciding legal disputes. L. BURGMANN, *Ecloga*, p. 164, line 75-p. 165, line 86 ; *Ecloga Leonis et Constantini cum Appendice*, A. G. MONFERRATUS, ed., p. 4 ; *A Manual of Roman Law*, E. H. FRESHFIELD, ed., p. 69.

(32) *A Manual of Roman Law*, E. H. FRESHFIELD, ed., Introduction, p. 11.

(33) ἐπιδιόρθωσις εἰς τὸ φιλανθρωπότερον . . . See T. E. GREGORY, *The Ekloga of Leo III and the Concept of Philanthropia, Byzantina*, 7 (1975).

(34) The Ten Commandments are listed in the Mosaic law. See L. BURGMANN, S. P. TROIANOS, *Nomos Mosaïkos*, *Fontes Minores* III, D. SIMON, ed., Frankfurt, 1979, pp. 126-167, 141-142 ; *Ecloga Leonis et Constantini cum Appendice*, A. G. MONFERRATUS, ed., p. 80. On the dating of this supplement, BURGMANN writes, "Ohne auch nur die Möglichkeit zu sehen, es jemals beweisen zu können, würden wir sogar annehmen, dass auch die Entstehung des Nomos Mosaïkos zeitlich in die Nähe der Ecloga zu setzen sei" : L. BURGMANN, S. P. TROIANOS, *Nomos Mosaïkos*, p. 135.

Some Iconophiles may have misinterpreted this emphasis on the Mosaic law as providing evidence that the emperors were promoting a policy of "Judaizing" ([35]). When the Iconoclast in the *Nouthesia* told the Iconophile old man that the emperor (Constantine V) wanted to observe the law, "Do not make any likeness", the old man responded, "The emperor should not want the [laws] of Moses for the people of Christ" ([36]). That Leo and Constantine wished to apply the laws of Moses to the administration of the empire does not mean, however, that they were influenced by the Jews. Nor did they necessarily believe that the Mosaic law which they were intent on promoting was identical to that of the Jews. Rather, the divine law that they believed should govern the empire was that which the Christians had taken from the Jews and subsequently reinterpreted in light of Christ. We have already noted that at least one anti-Jewish diatribe from the seventh century, the *Kephalaia*, set out to demonstrate that the law of the Jews had been superceded by the advent of Christ, a conclusion that the emperors surely did not challenge in the eighth century. Furthermore, scholars have observed that the Jews did not receive favorable treatment in the law code ([37]) : they were prohibited from holding positions of honor in the bureaucracy, they were forced to live as *cohortalini* and to continue the vocation of their father ; they were subject to capital punishment for circumcising their Christian slaves (which they were forbidden to own in any event) ; and for merely

(35) One popular tale, which circulated in various forms, claimed that a Jewish magician had promised Leo a long reign if he agreed to destroy the icons : *Theophanis chronographia*, C. DE BOOR, ed., pp. 401-402 ; *The Chronicle of Theophanes*, C. MANGO, R. SCOTT, transl., AM 6215, AD 722/3, pp. 555-556. For a discussion of the various accounts of this tale, see S. GERO, *Leo III*, Appendices, pp. 189-198. A similar story circulated about the caliph Yazid II, from which later Byzantine historians inferred that Muslim Iconoclasm had influenced Leo. See A. A. VASILIEV, *The Iconoclastic Edict of the Caliph Yazid II, A.D. 721*, *DOP*, 9-10, (1956) pp. 23-47 ; A. SHARF, *Byzantine Jewry from Justinian to the Fourth Crusade*, London, 1971, p. 68. See the Narratio of JOHN OF JERUSALEM and P. SPECK, *Ich bin's nicht*, pp. 25-113.

The antagonism that existed between the Christians and the Jews immediately preceding the period of Iconoclasm explains why the story concerning Leo was appealing. Taunted by the Jews for their worship of images, the Iconophiles simply conflated Leo's Iconoclasm with that of the Jews, attributing his Iconoclastic decree to their influence. See note 11.

(36) B. M. MELIORANSKIJ, *Georgij Kiprianin i Ioann Ierusalimlianin, etc.*, 2.XIII.

(37) *A Manual of Roman Law*, E. H. FRESHFIELD, ed., Introduction, p. 14.

tempting someone to renounce the Christian faith, they were decapitated ([38]). In 721/2, Leo also forced the Jews to accept baptism ([39]). As one scholar observes, "the Jews failed to gain positions of influence in Byzantine society", which suggests that Jewish beliefs could not have directly shaped imperial policy ([40]).

Although the Iconophile's perception in the *Nouthesia* that the emperor was influenced by the Jews is not historically accurate, it implies that there may have been some interaction between Jews and Christians during the period. As we have seen, the supplement to the *Ecloga* confirms that suspicion, for it punished Jews who converted to Christianity and Christians who converted to Judaism. It imposed banishment on Jews who circumcised Christians and prohibited them from owning Christian slaves ([41]). Such legislation makes sense only if Jews and Christians were talking to one another, and if each was at times tempted by the religion of the other ([42]). From the *Disputation of Sergius the Stylite* we learn that in

(38) See L. BURGMANN, S. P. TROIANOS, *Appendix Eclogae*, *Fontes Minores* III (Frankfurt, 1979), pp. 24-125, esp. III.5, 18, VIII.1-6, pp. 102, 105, 112-113 ; *Ecloga Leonis et Constantini cum Appendice,* A. G. MONFERRATUS, ed., Appendix, IV.6, 7, 16, 24 ; VI.26, 27, 28, 30, pp. 64-67 ; 72-73 ; *A Manual of Roman Law*, E. H. FRESHFIELD, ed., pp. 130-132, 137-138. The harsh punishments were apparently based on a literal interpretation of the Pentateuch.

For legal material from the early period, see generally, A. LINDER, ed. and trans., *The Jews in the Legal Sources of the Early Middle Ages*, Detroit, 1997.

(39) *Theophanis chronographia*, C. DE BOOR, ed., p. 401 ; *The Chronicle of Theophanes*, C. MANGO, R. SCOTT, transl., AM 6214, AD 721/2, pp. 554-555. See A. SHARF, *The Jews, the Montanists and the Emperor Leo III*, in *Jews and Other Minorities in Byzantium*, Jerusalem, 1995, pp. 109-118 ; IDEM, *Jews in Byzantium*, pp. 56-60 ; J. STARR, *The Jews in the Byzantine Empire 641-1204*, Athens, 1939, pp. 2, 14, 75-76.

(40) L. W. BARNARD, *The Graeco-Roman and Oriental Background*, p. 49 ; IDEM, *The Jews and the Byzantine Iconoclastic Controversy*, *Eastern Churches Review* V, 2 (1973), pp. 125-135.

(41) L. BURGMANN, S. P. TROIANOS, *Appendix Eclogae*, III.5, VIII 1-6, pp. 102, 112-113 ; Appendix, IV.7, 16 ; VI.26-30 ; *Ecloga Leonis et Constantini cum Appendice,* A. G. MONFERRATUS, ed., pp. 64-66, 72-73 ; *A Manual of Roman Law*, E. H. FRESHFIELD, ed., pp. 130-131, 137-138.

(42) See V. DÉROCHE, *La polémique anti-judaïque*, p. 285, 287, in which he notes that John Chrysostom provides a clear example from the early period of a bishop whose sermons addressed Christians who were attracted to Jewish practice. DÉROCHE views the anti-Jewish literature as providing good evidence of the confrontation that was taking place between the two communities : *ibid.*, p. 290.

early eighth-century Syria the boundaries between Christian and Jew were not all that clear (43). There the Jew is made to say that Christians and Jews borrowed whatever they found useful in the religion of the other, and that Christians frequently attended Jewish synagogues (44). This blurring of boundaries between Jew and Christian so troubled the Stylite that he claimed that the designation 'Jew' was appropriately applied to Christians, who were now the "true confessors" of the Jewish faith (45). In other words, the Stylite addressed what he perceived to be the problem of Christians engaging in Jewish ritual and worship by arguing that Christians who were thus attracted to Jewish practice need not attend the synagogues, because the advent of Christ had made the Christians the "true heirs" to Judaism.

III. Conclusions : By reconsidering whether the law of Moses and the Decalogue were relevant for Christians, the *Nouthesia* and, to a lesser extent, John of Damascus, departed from the arguments that the Christian/Jewish dialogues had made in defense of image worship. The Iconophile of the *Nouthesia*, who believed that the law of Moses, including the Decalogue, was no longer binding on Christians, charged the Iconoclasts with Judaizing (*ἰουδαϊκῶς φρονοῦντες*) because they wished to uphold the Second Commandment and apply it to Christians (46). The charge, however, was not historically accurate. As far as we know, the Iconoclasts were not interested in the religion of the Jews, *per se*. They were far more intent on promoting what they considered to be spiritual, inner worship (47) — the image of Christ inscribed on the heart — than with upholding the so-called Jewish law. The disputation recorded in the *Nouthesia* thus probably does not reflect the discussions that were

For a study of the relationship between Jews and Christians in the early Christian period, see generally D. BOYARIN, *Dying For God : Martyrdom and the Making of Christianity and Judaism*, Stanford, 1999.

(43) A. P. HAYMAN, *The Image of the Jew in the Syriac Anti-Jewish Polemical Literature*, in *To See Ourselves as Others See Us : Christians, Jews, "Others" in Late Antiquity*, California, 1985, pp. 423-441.

(44) *The Disputation of Sergius the Stylite*, XXII.1, 12, 15.

(45) *Ibid.*, XI.1-5.

(46) B. M. MELIORANSKIJ, *Georgij Kiprianin i Ioann Ierusalimlianin, etc.*, 2.XII.

(47) See the Iconoclastic iambic poems discussed by S. GERO, in *Leo III*, pp. 113-126.

taking place between the Iconoclasts and the Iconophiles. Instead, it addresses the concerns of some Iconophiles (represented in the *Nouthesia* by the old man) who mistakenly believed that the emperors Leo and Constantine, having included selections from the Mosaic law in their *Ecloga* and supplement, had been unduly influenced by Judaism and, therefore, wished to apply the law of Moses, as it had been interpreted by the Jews, to the governing of the empire. We know from Theophanes, the *Disputation of Sergius*, the *Ecloga*, and from Germanus of Constantinople that Byzantine Christians interacted with Jews, which may have alerted the Iconophiles that some Christians were attracted to Jewish belief and ritual, thereby making them concerned that such Christians might be persuaded to forego image worship in favor of the aniconic religion of Judaism ([48]). That the *Nouthesia* explicitly rejected the Decalogue and the Mosaic law suggests that during the first phase of Iconoclasm some Byzantine Christians were reconsidering their relationship to Judaism by further distinguishing themselves and their religion from that of the Jews ([49]).

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(48) On Christians interacting with Jews, see THEOPHANES CONTINUATUS, *Chronographia, De Michaele Amoriensi. Lib. II.*, I. BEKKER, ed., Bonn, 1838, p. 42-43 ; *PG* 109, col. 56 C-D ; S. GERMANI CONSTANTINOPOLITANI, *Epistolae*, IV, *PG* 98, col. 168B ; see also notes 43 and 45.

(49) V. DÉROCHE reached a similar conclusion in his discussion of the anti-Jewish literature of the period prior to Iconoclasm : "Il serait donc impropre de parler simplement d'une montée de l'intolérance : c'est le changement de définition des Chrétiens à leurs propres yeux qui fait que les Juifs ne peuvent plus être laissés dans l'isolement où les deux premiers siècles de l'empire chrétien essayaient de les confiner" : IDEM, *La polémique anti-judaïque*, p. 294. For a discussion of Jewish identity in Byzantium from 1000-1200, see N. DE LANGE, *Hebrews, Greeks or Romans ? Jewish Culture and Identity in Byzantium*, in *Strangers to Themselves : The Byzantine Outsider : Papers from the Thirty-second Spring Symposium of Byzantine Studies, University of Sussex, Brighton*, March, 1998, Aldershot, Burlington, Singapore, Sydney, 2000, pp. 105-118 ; see also S. BOWMAN, *From Hellenization to Graecization : The Byzantine-Jewish Synthesis, Jewish Assimilation, Acculturation and Accommodation : Past Traditions, Current Issues and Future Prospects*, Lanham, New York, London, 1992, pp. 38-53.

NOTE

L'ARCHANGE MICHEL ET LE FONDATEUR DE CONSTANTINOPLE : MIRACLE OU MIRAGE ?

OBSERVATIONS SUR UN CHAPITRE DE L'*HISTOIRE ECCLÉSIASTIQUE* DE NICÉPHORE CALLISTE XANTHOPOULOS

Dans une contribution au demeurant fort remarquée et remarquable, Eugenio La Rocca précise que, d'après Nicéphore Calliste Xanthopoulos, l'empereur Constantin, au moment de tracer le périmètre de la ville de Constantinople qu'il était en train de fonder, était guidé par l'archange Michel (1).

Le témoignage que l'écrivain byzantin de la 1ere moitié du XIVe s. livre dans son *Histoire ecclésiastique* mérite l'attention (2). Je le cite et le traduis : 8, 4 (*PG* 146, col. 17D - 20D)

> *Τοῖς δὲ κατὰ Λικίνιον καλῶς ἀπαντήσασι, καὶ πόλιν εἰς ὄνομα ἑαυτῷ ἀνιστᾶν διεσκόπει. Καὶ δὴ Βυζαντίοις ἀγρίοις δή τισι καθεστῶσι, καὶ*

(1) E. LA ROCCA, *La fondazione di Costantinopoli, Costantino il Grande dall'antichità all'umanesimo. Colloquio sul cristianesimo nel mondo antico, Macerata, 18-20 dicembre 1990.* A cura di Giorgio BONAMENTE e Franca FUSCO, t. 2, Macerata, 1993, p. 553-583 ; p. 565 : «Niceforo informa più esplicitamente che Costantino fu guidato dall'arcangelo Michele». Dans la référence au passage de l'auteur byzantin qui est donnée p. 564, n. 49, corriger la mention erronée du livre 7 au lieu du livre 8.

(2) Sur l'auteur, son œuvre et ses sources, voir K. KRUMBACHER, *Geschichte der byzantinischen Litteratur von Justinian bis zum Ende des oströmischen Reiches (527-1453)* (*Handbuch der klassischen Altertumswissenschaft*, 9, 1), München², 1897, § 127, p. 291-293 ; H.-G. BECK, *Kirche und Theologische Literatur im byzantinischen Reich* (*Handbuch der Altertumswissenschaft*, 12, 2, 1, München, 1959) p. 705-707.

βαρβάρῳ ξίφει τὰ μεγάλα φυσῶσι, καταστὰς εἰς διαφοράν, πολέμου νόμῳ νικᾷ · καὶ τὸ ἐκ παλαιοῦ φρούριον εἰς ἔδαφος καταστρέψας, μεγαλοπρεπῆ συνεισενεγκὼν εἰσφοράν, τὴν μεγάλην ἐγείρει πόλιν, οὐδέν τι λιπὼν τῶν ὅσα ταύτης εἰς περιφάνειαν · οἴκους τε δειμάμενος ἐκφανεῖς, ἔκ τε Ῥώμης καὶ τῶν ἐθνῶν, ἀλλαχοῦ τοὺς οἰκήσοντας μετεστέλλετο · ἱππόδρομόν τε καὶ ἐμβόλους καὶ ταμεῖα ὑδάτων, καὶ κρήνας, ἀγάλματα καὶ πᾶν τι τῶν ὅσα χειρὸς ἐξαισίας ἐκόμιζέ τε καὶ κατεκόσμει, διαφανῆ καθιστῶν. Νεὼς ἐπὶ τούτοις Θεῷ ἀνίστα, καὶ ἀποστόλοις καὶ μάρτυσι, καὶ τὸν μέγιστον πορφυροῦν κίονα, ἐν ᾧ καὶ ἴδιον ἀνδριάντα ἐπῆγεν, ἐπὶ πόλῳ σταυρὸν ἐμπεπηγότα διακατέχοντα. Οἷς παρεδήλου ὡς γῆ τε αὐτῷ καὶ θάλαττα δεδούλωται πᾶσα τῇ δυνάμει τοῦ ἀηττήτου τροπαίου. Καὶ κατὰ τὸν ὃς καλεῖται χῶρος Σωσθένιον ἐν τῷ Ἀνάπλῳ, νεὼν ἐξ ἐπιφανείας τοῦ ἀρχαγγέλου ἀνίστη · καὶ ἄλλ᾽ ἄττα, ἄξιά γε τῆς ἐκείνου καὶ φρενὸς καὶ θείας συνέσεως, ἔτι δὲ καὶ τοῦ ἐφ᾽ ἅπασι μεγαλοπρεποῦς διεπράττετο. Λέγεται μέντοι περὶ τῆς ἐπωνύμου αὐτῷ πόλεως ὡς κατὰ τὴν Ἴλιον περὶ τὸ τῶν Ἑλλήνων ναύσταθμον ἐπιβάλλειν πρότερον αὐτὴν ἀνιστᾶν · τοῦ δὲ Θεοῦ χρήσαντος νύκτωρ, κατὰ τὸ Βυζάντιον ἀντικρὺ Χαλκηδόνος ἐγείρειν αὐτὴν, τῷ χρησμῷ πεισθέντα, τείχεσι μεγάλοις περιβαλεῖν, ὁμότιμόν τε τῇ Ῥώμῃ πρεσβείοις πᾶσιν οἰκοδομῆσαι, βουλευτήριόν τε καὶ σύγκλητον, καὶ δαπάνην, καὶ σιτηρέσια, καὶ φιλοτιμίαν ἄλλην αὐταρκεστάτην βασιλικῶς τοῖς οἰκήτορσι διανεῖμαι. Φιλοκάλως δ᾽ ἅπαντα τὰ κατ᾽ αὐτὴν διαθέμενος, Νέαν Ῥώμην Κωνσταντινούπολιν κατωνόμασεν, ἴσα τ᾽ ἐκείνῃ κρατεῖν, καὶ οἰκονομεῖν, καὶ θεμιστεύειν ἐδίδου · καὶ βασιλίδα τῶν πόλεων ἀνηγόρευε, τῶν ὅσοι τὴν Ῥωμαίων ὑπήκοον γινώσκουσι, πρὸς ἄρκτον καὶ νότον καὶ ἀνίσχοντα ἥλιον καὶ τὰ ἐν μέσῳ πελάγη, ἐκ τῶν παρὰ τὸν Ἴστρον πόλεων καὶ Ἐπιδάμνου τῆς πρὸς τῷ Ἰονίῳ κόλπῳ μέχρι Κυρήνης καὶ τῶν τῇδε Λιβύων παρὰ τὸ βόρειον καλούμενον κλίμα. Καὶ ἄρξασθαί γε τῆς οἰκοδομῆς κατὰ τὸ πεντακισχιλιοστὸν ὀκτακοσιοστὸν πέμπτον καὶ εἰκοστὸν ἔτος τοῦ κόσμου, τῆς δὲ ἀρχῆς αὐτοῦ δέκατον · τελέσαι δὲ ταύτην παντάπασι κατὰ τὸ εἰκοστὸν ὄγδοον αὐτοῦ τῆς ἀρχῆς · ὅπερ ἐστὶ κόσμου ἔτος πεντακισχιλιοστὸν ὀκτακοσιοστὸν μγ΄, ὡς δ᾽ ἕτεροι, ,εωλη΄. Καὶ τοῦτο δὲ περὶ ταύτης ἱστορεῖται ὡς τὸν ταύτης περίβολον ὁριζόμενον βάδην περιϊέναι τὸν βασιλέα δόρυ κατέχοντα τῇ χειρί · ἐπεὶ δὲ τοῖς ἑπομένοις ἐδόκει μεῖζον ἢ προσῆκε τὸ μέτρον ἐκτείνειν, προσελθεῖν τε αὐτῷ τινα καὶ διαπυνθάνεσθαι, «ἕως ποῦ, δέσποτα», τὸν δὲ διαρρήδην ἀποκρινάμενον φάναι, «ἕως ἂν ὁ ἔμπροσθεν ὁδηγῶν με στῇ». Ἐπίδηλον δὲ ἄρα ἦν, ὡς δύναμις αὐτοῦ τις οὐρανία προηγεῖτο, τοῦ πραττομένου διδάσκαλος. Οὕτω δὲ μεγαλοπρεπῶς ἱδρυσάμενον, ἅλμα Ῥώμαν ὀνομάσαι αὐτήν, ὃ τῇ Ῥωμαίων γλώττῃ τὴν ἔνδοξον ὑπαινίσσεται.

«Pour ceux qui s'étaient opposés avec succès à Licinius, il envisageait de bâtir aussi une ville à son nom. Et voilà que, entré en conflit avec certains Byzantins qui se montraient vraiment cruels et qui, une épée de barbare au poing, élevaient des prétentions à la grandeur, il l'emporte par la loi de la guerre. Après avoir détruit jusqu'aux fondements leur citadelle d'antan, il apporte une contribution somptueuse et érige la grande ville, sans rien omettre de ce qui contribuait à son illustration. Il y construisait des demeures resplendissantes et faisait venir, de Rome et des provinces, des gens disposés à résider ailleurs. Il la dotait et l'ornait d'un hippodrome, de portiques (3), de citernes d'eau, de fontaines, de statues et de tout ce qui porte la marque d'une main exceptionnelle, réalisant des merveilles. En outre, il élevait des sanctuaires à Dieu, aux apôtres et aux martyrs, ainsi que la très grande colonne de porphyre, sur laquelle il faisait hisser même sa propre statue, incluant une croix fixée sur un globe. Par ces signes, il manifestait que, grâce à lui, la terre et la mer étaient soumises en totalité à la puissance de l'invincible trophée. Et au lieu dit Sosthénion sur l'Anaplous (4), à la suite d'une apparition de l'archange, il érigeait une église ; il réalisait encore d'autres choses dignes en vérité de son esprit et de son intelligence divine, ainsi que de sa magnificence en tout. On dit cependant, à propos de la ville qui porte son nom, qu'il projetait d'abord de la bâtir sur l'emplacement d'Ilion, à proximité du mouillage des Grecs ; mais que, Dieu lui ayant parlé la nuit, c'est sur l'emplacement de Byzance, en face de Chalcédoine, qu'il l'érigea, docile à l'oracle, qu'il l'entoura de grands murs, qu'il l'établit égale en honneur à Rome pour tous ses privilèges, et que, en souverain, il octroya à ses habitants une curie et un sénat, un budget, des approvisionnements en blé et, en général, des libéralités tout à fait suffisantes. Après avoir disposé avec élégance absolument tout le site, il dénomma Constantinople nouvelle Rome : il lui donnait de régner, d'administrer et de rendre la justice à l'égal de celle-ci. Et il la proclamait reine des villes, de tous ceux qui connaissent la soumission aux Romains, au nord, au sud, au levant et sur les mers du milieu, à partir des villes du bord de l'Ister et d'Epidamne en bordure du golfe ionien jusqu'à Cyrène et aux Libyens de cet

(3) Sur l'emploi de ce terme au sens de «portique», cf. H. G. LIDDELL - R. SCOTT - H. S. JONES, *A Greek-English Lexicon*, Oxford[9], 1940 ; with a revised supplement, 1996, s. u., (8) ; G. W. H. LAMPE, *A Patristic Greek Lexicon*, Oxford, 1968, s. u., qui donne l'acception de «colonnade».

(4) Sur les différents sens que revêt chez les Byzantins le mot *Ἀνάπλους*, cf. R. JANIN, *La géographie ecclésiastique de l'Empire byzantin*. Première partie : *Le siège de Constantinople et le patriarcat oecuménique*. Tome III. *Les églises et les monastères*, Paris[2], 1969, p. 338. Sur Saint-Michel de Sosthénion qui éclipse Saint-Michel d'Anaplous, cf. G. DAGRON, *Naissance d'une capitale. Constantinople et ses institutions de 330 à 451*, Paris, 1974, part. p. 396. Sur chacun de ces deux lieux saints, cf. JANIN, *op. laud.*, p. 338-340 : (4°) *Μιχαὴλ* (*Ἅγ.*) *ἐν τῷ Ἀνάπλῳ* ; p. 346-350 : (21°) *Μιχαὴλ* (*Μονὴ ἁγ.*) *ἐν τῷ Σωσθενίῳ*.

endroit, au bord de ce qui est appelé l'hémisphère nord. Et il commença la construction au cours de la 5825ème année du monde, de la 10ème année de son règne ; il l'acheva totalement au cours de la 28ème année de son règne, ce qui correspond à la 5843ème année du monde, ou, selon d'autres, à la 5838ème. Et voici ce que l'on raconte au sujet de celle-ci : en délimitant son périmètre, l'empereur le parcourait pas à pas, en tenant une lance à la main ; mais, comme ceux qui le suivaient avaient l'impression qu'il dépassait la mesure convenable, quelqu'un s'approcha de lui et s'enquit : 'jusqu'à quel endroit <iras-tu>, maître ?' ; en répondant, il dit précisément : 'jusqu'à ce que s'arrête celui qui, devant, me montre le chemin'. Il était donc évident que quelque puissance céleste le guidait, en maîtresse de l'exécutant. Une fois qu'il l'eut construite avec tant de magnificence, il la dénomma Alma Roma, ce qui, dans la langue des Romains, signifie l'illustre».

La seule référence à Michel que contienne le texte regarde exclusivement la fondation du Sosthénion, lieu saint dédié à l'archange.

Dans les lignes qu'il consacre à proprement parler au rituel de fondation de Constantinople, Nicéphore démarque Philostorge (5), tout en s'autorisant par rapport à sa source quelques variantes mineures. Or, dans le récit de délimitation du périmètre de la ville, aucune mention n'est faite de l'archange Michel. Nicéphore, à l'instar de Philostorge, se contente d'affirmer que Constantin obéissait à «quelque puissance céleste».

Pour conclure, une lecture du texte de Nicéphore Calliste Xanthopoulos infirme l'attribution à l'archange Michel du rôle de guide et d'inspirateur de Constantin dans le rituel observé par l'empereur lorsqu'il fonde la ville de Constantinople.

Universite de Fribourg (Suisse). Philippe BRUGGISSER.

(5) PHILOSTORGIUS, *Hist. eccl.* 2, 9 (ed. J. BIDEZ et F. WINKELMANN, Berlin, GCS³, 1981, p. 21-22). Sur ce témoignage, voir Ph. BRUGGISSER, *Romulus aux anges. En passant par le récit de Philostorge sur la fondation de Constantinople,* dans *Images des origines, origines d'une image. Mélanges en l'honneur de Jacques Poucet* (sous presse).

CHRONIQUES

RECENT WORK ON THE EMPEROR HERACLIUS

Such is the importance of the emperor Heraclius that it is impossible to write a general history of Byzantium without giving an account of his reign. Thus it is that historians such as G. Ostrogorsky and W. Treadgold, two generations apart from each other, both devote considerable space to him in their respective histories. So does J. F. Haldon in his *Byzantium in the Seventh Century.* There is a chapter on him even in the *Short History of Byzantium* by J. J. Norwich. There are entries on him, of course, in such standard reference works as the *Lexikon für Theologie und Kirche* and the *Oxford Dictionary of Byzantium.* Nor has there been a lack of articles on him in the journals. He is usually seen as standing at the end of one era and the beginning of another. It is not by accident that Vol. XIV of the new edition of the *Cambridge Ancient History* ends with the year 600 and Mark Whittow's *The Making of Byzantium* begins with that same year. But the last three years have seen an unusual interest being taken in this remarkable emperor. Those inquiring into this subject now will find three new books on library shelves.

G. REGAN, *First Crusader : Byzantium's Holy Wars,* Stroud, Gloucestershire, U.K., Sutton, 2001, VIII, 280 pages, ill. ISBN 0 7509 2026 2. New York, Palgrave/Macmillan, 2003, 304 pages. ISBN 1 4039 6151 4.

G. Regan, one of Britain's leading popular historians, has more than twenty titles to his credit. These range widely over the whole field of Western history, mostly military, from 500 B.C. to the twentieth century. The present volume clearly is meant to appeal to a wide readership : the bibliography, with a single exception, is limited to titles in English ; there are only 139 endnotes, and only a relatively small number of these refers to primary sources. The author's narrative flows easily.

In Chapters 1-2 Regan sets the stage for his subject by providing a brief account of the reigns of Diocletian and Constantine. The next three centuries of Byzantine history are not dealt with.

Chapters 3-9 are concerned with the life and career of the "first crusader," the emperor Heraclius (610-641). It is a major contention of this book that "the [Byzantine] empire's campaigns were always designed to enact the will of God and were always holy" (p. 38), and that this applies particularly to the emperor Heraclius (*passim*). Regan attempts to anticipate criticism : "Those academics who have rejected the concept of the Byzantine 'holy war' and have ridiculed the idea of Heraclius as the first crusader have done so because the concept of a 'crusade' is a medieval western idea. They do not believe that the Byzantines had a doctrine of holy war. However, the doubters are not seeing the wood for the trees" (p. 82) (1).

Regan is, without question, right in pointing out that there was a strong religious element in Heraclius' thought and deeds (*passim*). Our sources make it quite clear that Heraclius viewed the war against Persians and Avars as a religious war, the Byzantine people as the new chosen people, and himself as a leader chosen by God. To his admirers Heraclius became not only "a new Constantine," but also "a new David." Although this title was applied to other Byzantine emperors it seems especially to fit the life and personality of Heraclius.

But Heraclius' campaigns were motivated not only by religion ; they were also a matter of survival, his own and that of the empire. The phrase "first crusader" in the title of the book will catch the attention of prospective readers, as it caught the attention of this reviewer. But it is not new with Regan ; it had been previously employed by J. J. NORWICH, *Byzantium : The Early Centuries* (London, Viking, 1988), Chapter 7. And, if Byzantium's wars had always been "holy," one might ask if the epithet might not be applied as well to one of the emperors before Heraclius. And the nomenclature of the later Western Crusades is too well established to allow Heraclius' campaigns to become a "first crusade."

A very appropriate summary of Heraclius' place in history is offered in the Introduction of the book (p. VIII) : "Heraclius is one of the great tragic figures of history. Few men have drunk of such a poisonous mixture of triumph and disaster, of happiness and sorrow... In true tragic style, this great figure fell catastrophically from the height of his achievement and lived just long enough fo feel every turn of the screw." Readers might well return to this assessment when they have reached the end of the book.

In later centuries, too, so readers learn in Chapter 10, religion continued to be an important factor in Byzantine military operations. To make this point Regan quotes from the *Praecepta Militaria* of the emperor Nicephorus Phocas (10th century), who directs his soldiers to fast and pray for three days, repent of their sins, and partake of Communion before going into battle (pp. 203-204). But Byzantine military campaigns at that time were, in Regan's words, "Ersatz cru-

(1) He does not identify "those academics," except for J. F. Haldon, in n. 56.

sades" (p. 194), which never aimed at regaining the Holy Sepulchre or other sites in the Holy Land (p. 215).

Chapter 11 describes events which opened the way, ultimately, for the First Crusade : the military policy of Basil Bulgaroktonos, the persecution of Christians by the Fatimid caliph al-Hakim, which included the destruction of the Church of the Holy Sepulchre in 1009, and the crushing defeat inflicted upon the Byzantine army by the Seljuk Turks in 1071 at the battle of Manzikert. Chapter 12 offers a brief account of the First Crusade (1096-1099) with all its blunders and horrors. These last two chapters bear little relation to the main topic of the book.

There are two brief appendices, one on "Single Combat in Byzantine Warfare," and one on "Heraclius, Mohammed and the Origin of Jihad." There also are a chronological table, an index, 7 maps, and 18 photographs of good quality, 9 of them in color.

The book suffers from a poor formulation of its theme, poor organization, and inadequate documentation. Various major errors also detract from its value. Thus the long quotation from the *Octavius* of Minucius Felix (pp. 4-5) does not let the unsuspecting reader know that the author was a Christian apologist. The statement that "by the middle of the third century persecution [of Christians] was widespread but sporadic and was generally carried out at a local police level" (p. 5) ignores the empire-wide and carefully organized persecution of Decius. That Helena was a Christian already when she was the wife (or concubine ?) of Constantius (p. 12) is not supported by the evidence. Constantine's first war against Licinius was fought in 316, not in 317 (p. 17). The final battle in the second war against Licinius, at Chrysopolis, was a land battle, not a naval battle, and was won by Constantine himself, not by his son Crispus (p. 18). That Fausta agreed to commit suicide (p. 29) is a mere supposition. Regan twice (pp. 29 and 36) speaks of the discovery of the True Cross by Helena as if it were an accepted historical fact, but in another place (p. 34) opines that it "is probably as mythical as the accounts of the life of Jesus contained in the gospels."

There is reference to "the catastrophic climactic [for "climatic"] effects that followed the immense volcanic explosion of Krakatoa in 535" (p. 42). Here Regan relies exclusively on the questionable theories of D. KEYS, an archaeological correspondent for London's *The Independent*. Readers are expected, it seems, to be familiar with Mobad priests, Sughdian warriors, and Epthalite knights (p. 65) ; also to know where or what Camuliana is (p. 79). The defeat of Crassus at Carrhae had taken place not nearly 600 years earlier (p. 117), but almost 700 years earlier. On the return of the True Cross to Jerusalem Regan writes : "Arriving as a pilgrim rather than as an emperor, it is likely that Heraclius entered Jerusalem as a barefoot penitent, wearing a white chiton and..." (p. 133, also p. 179) ; there is no discussion of the charming legend which developed around this event. The discussion of the Christological contro-

versy (pp. 137-138) suggests little appreciation of theological issues on the part of the author. It would have been good to explain "the defection of Pope Honorius" (p. 159).

Who are the "western heretics" with whom Byzantium was at war (p. 190)? To speak of "the transmogrification of the Virgin Mary from gentle Madonna to bloodthirsty Valkyrie" (p. 192) is sheer sensationalism. The Mandylion, while correctly identified as one of the holiest relics of Christianity, is not called by that name (p. 196).

There are errors of omission, too. The famous David plates, now in Nicosia and New York, are not mentioned, although Suzanne Spain Alexander's 1977 article dealing with them is listed in the bibliography. And certainly attention should have been given to the fact that, from 629 on, Heraclius claimed the title of *pistos en Christo basileus* and that he chose the name of David for a son born to him and Martina in 630.

Numerous minor but annoying errors can also be found : *Hoc vince* for *Hoc signo victor eris* (p. 13), "Mithran" for "Mithraic" (p. 40), *calcato colli* for *calcatio colli* (p. 54), "Ox Forum" for *Forum Bovis* (p. 71), *Expedition Persica* for *Expeditio Persica* (p. 83), "Gaugemala" for "Gaugamela" (p. 90), "Excubitore" for "Excubitors" (p. 179), "Bamburg" for "Bamberg" (p. 225), "Tubingen" for "Tübingen" (p. 238), and others.

The bibliography gives a minimum of bibliographical information and in places is faulty in form. Some of the titles listed are not very relevant, while other, far more relevant titles have been omitted. P. MAGDALINO, ed., *New Constantines : The Rhythm of Imperial Renewal in Byzantium* (Aldershot, Variorum 1994), and J. MEYENDORFF, *Imperial Unity and Christian Divisions* (Crestwood, NY : St. Vladimir's Seminary Press, 1989), surely should have been included. For Lactantius' *De Mortibus Imperatorum* not the old translation by W. FLETCHER (1871) from the *Anti-Nicene* [sic] *Library,* but the much superior edition and translation of J. L. CREED (Oxford 1984) should have been listed.

The maps are easy to read, but many locations cited in the text can not be found in them, e. g. Edessa, Nicaea, Manzikert, and Tarsus. Yarmuk is marked on the wrong side of the Jordan River. There are no credits listed for the maps.

In brief, the shortcomings of this book are such that it makes little or no contribution to historical scholarship and that even a casual reader should exercise caution in using it.

G. J. REININK and B. H. STOLTE, eds., *The Reign of Heraclius (610-641) : Crisis and Confrontation, Groningen Studies in Cultural Change*, vol. II, Leuven, Peeters, 2002, XIII, 319 pages. ISBN 90 429 1228 6.

This volume is a collection of thirteen papers given at a workshop organized by J. W. DRIJVERS, G. REININK, and B. STOLTE and held at the University of Groningen on 19-21 April 2001. The presenters of these papers represented four

different countries, the Netherlands, The United Kingdom, Germany, and the United States, and various disciplines, mostly history, but also Near Eastern languages, religious studies, and law. "The central theme of the workshop," according to the editors, "was the question whether, and if so, in which way and to which extent, the drastic political changes which the Byzantine empire experienced in the first decades of the seventh century affected the policies of the emperor Heraclius (610-641) and induced significant new social and cultural developments in the empire" (p. IX). "Did the rapidly changing historical conditions as well as the political and military vicissitudes of the empire during Heraclius' reign cause real 'changes'," they ask, "in society, in its administrative, political, military and ecclesiastical structures and institutions" (p. X) ? Each of the thirteen contributors will respond to these questions in his or her own way.

J. F. Haldon holds that "Heraclius worked to maintain or restore, with few exceptions, the administrative, political and military structures he had inherited" (p. 1). He concludes that "Heraclius... was neither innovator nor reactionary"... but that "the years of his long and eventful reign certainly constituted 'a context for change'" (p. 16).

W. Brandes, in the second of the thirteen contributions, provides a good survey of our sources and the current state of research. He joins the growing number of scholars who hold that Heraclius was not the originator of the theme system (p. 32).

In the third contribution James Howard-Johnston explores the Armenian sources for the reign of Heraclius, and John W. Watt does the same for Syriac sources in the fourth contribution.

Following that, G. J. Reinink examines the Syriac *Alexander Legend*, in which Alexander the Great is portrayed as a proto-Heraclius and Heraclius as a new Alexander (p. 86) and a positive eschatological view (p. 91) offered against a background of apocalyptic expectations. Jewish Messianic expectations, especially in response to Heraclius' anti-Jewish measures, are the subject of the next contribution by Wout Jac van Bekkum.

In the longest of the thirteen papers Lawrence I. Conrad examines "Heraclius in Early Islamic Kerygma" and specifically the letter which the Prophet Muhammad supposedly sent to the emperor Heraclius and the latter's response to it. This letter, Conrad says, is the most elaborate of the so-called messenger-stories (p. 117) and one of "the numerous ahistorical kerygmatic arguments and motifs set forth by early Muslims" (pp. 125-126). In Arab-Islamic tradition, we learn, while Chosroes is "an archetypically negative figure" (p. 116), Heraclius is not a wicked ruler, merely "a well-intended but misguided monarch" (p. 143). The profoundly kerygmatic character of this tradition can inform us about how Heraclius was perceived and understood in later times, but not about the time of Heraclius himself (p. 155).

Mary Whitby is an expert on Heraclius' court poet George of Pisidia, whose style and subject matter she examines at some detail. George's poetry, she asserts, looks forward to a new and explicitly Byzantine literature ; it is thus part of the cultural change which is the central theme of this volume (p. 172) (2).

J. W. Drijvers, writing on "Heraclius and the *Restitutio Crucis*," declares that "later generations of emperors, both Western and Byzantine, regarded Constantine as their role model and his reign as their example. However, this did not happen immediately, but would take some three hundred years" (p. 181). In fact, "the turning point in the cult of Constantine came with Heraclius" (p. 182). "The *Restitutio Crucis* gave Heraclius the opportunity to associate his reign... with that of his exemplary predecessor and present his own rule as a renewal of that of Constantine" (p. 183). This, we may say, constitutes a change in the imperial ideology. We may add also that Heraclius was a master at propaganda.

B. H. Stolte, in his essay on "The Legal History of the Reign of Heraclius," clearly states the leitmotif of this collection, namely that whatever changes occurred during the reign of Heraclius "had not always been initiated by Heraclius : rather, the emperor had responded to changes that had been forced upon him." His "Reformtätigkeit" was only "vermeintlich" (pp. 191 and 204) (3) ; it was "routine maintenance" (p. 192). It is to be noted, however, that in the last of his four Novels, issued in 629, the emperor confirmed and expanded the church's *privilegium fori* and thus contributed to the spread of ecclesiastical jurisdiction (pp. 192 and 204). Also, "it is not improbable that the integration of canon law and civil law into the *Nomocanon* should have taken place during Heraclius' reign" (pp. 194 and 204).

Peter Hatlie investigates Byzantine monasticism from the latter half of the sixth century to the early seventh century. Surely surprising many readers, he estimates that in the sixth century there were c. 130 monasteries in Constantinople and its suburbs (p. 211). His reference to Monophysite monasteries in the city (p. 212) is a welcome reminder that Monophysitism was not limited to the eastern provinces. The turbulance of the Persian wars put the monasteries everywhere to a severe test. Some recovered rather quickly, while many more disappeared forever (p. 220). The virtual end of itinerant asceticism (p. 224) is an interesting if minor cultural change.

The penultimate segment, by Jan J. van Ginkel, is titled "Heraclius and the Saints" and examines pertinent hagiographic literature. "Heraclius does not seem to be an important element in hagiography. His great accomplishments are usu-

(2) W. Brandes in his essay, p. 19, points out that George of Pisidia brought the late antique tradition of panegyrical writing to its conclusion.

(3) J. KARAYANNOPOULOS, *Über die vermeintliche Reformtätigkeit des Kaisers Herakleios*, in *JÖB* 10 (1961), pp. 53-72.

ally passed by very quickly... Neither are his offences mentioned" (p. 238). "The image of Heraclius in the *Lives* is based on his position in the religious conflict" (p. 239), i. e. the struggle between Chalcedonian orthodoxy and Monophysitism. The *Life* of John the Almsgiver is written from the perspective of the former, The *Life* of the Patriarch Benjamin from the perspective of the latter.

The final paper, by F. R. Trombley, promises to give the reader "lower-case history" on the experience of ordinary individuals and collectives in war (p. 241), but delivers instead a study of tactics and weapons. A concluding observation links this paper to the main theme of the book : "To judge from the surviving evidence it seems doubtful that Heraclius was a successful military reformer, much less an innovator. His military achievement, great as it was in the 620s, was mainly a response to the challenge of particular circumstances" (p. 258).

A rich bibliography and a detailed index enhance the value of this book. Not all aspects of the reign of Heraclius have been dealt with by this collection, nor could they, as the editors realize (p. X) ; there are, for instance, no articles on the system of taxation or on numismatics. And not all of the papers address the central theme of the workshop. All of the papers are very specialized ; this volume is not for those whose interest in Heraclius may be casual only. All of the papers exhibit a high standard of scholarship. A common pitfall of collections such as this one, an uneven quality of the individual contributions, has been avoided. The organizer of the workshop, the participants, and the editors of the volume are to be commended.

W. E. Kaegi, *Heraclius : Emperor of Byzantium,* Cambridge/New York, Cambridge University Press, 2003, XI, 359 pages. ISBN 0 521 81459 6.

W. E. Kaegi is a distinguished professor of history and member of the Oriental Institute at the University of Chicago. His previously published five books in the field of Byzantine studies have been well received. The present book is all that Regan's book is not : a work of impeccable scholarship. Professor Kaegi comes to his subject well prepared : among the many articles which he has published in the course of his forty-year career there are twelve or more which pertain to Heraclius.

In the Introduction Kaegi points out that there has been no biography of Heraclius in English and that biographies of Heraclius in Italian, French, and in Greek, published in the 19th and early 20th century, have become obsolete (pp. 1-2). He has set himself the task of understanding Heraclius as a man and as an emperor, guarding both against panegyrical and hostile characterizations (pp. 4-5). He sees Heraclius as a dynamic personality, whose life was filled with war, triumph, and tragedy ; also as standing at a turning point in history (p. 5), the end of Late Antiquity and the beginning of the medieval era of Byzantium. Heraclius must, so Kaegi insists, be placed in his religious context, not only that of Christianity but also that of Zoroastrianism and Islam ; his part in the theologi-

cal controversies of the times must receive due attention (pp. 6-7). A survey of the sources, Greek, Armenian, and Arabic, is provided and the lack of diaries, memoirs, or letters is pointed out (pp. 7-10). Unlike Constantine I. or Theodosius I., Heraclius has never been called "the Great" (p. 12) ; he has been and continues to be controversial (p. 13). The French historian Paul Lemerle judged that "Heraclius failed in his national labor for the restoration of the empire and the protection of its integrity" (p. 15), but G. Ostrogorsky called him "the greatest ruler in Byzantine history" (pp. 15-16) (4). Kaegi will distance himself from both views and develop a more balanced account.

Chapter 1 offers an account of the future emperor's formative years and of the rebellion against Phocas. A biographer's task is difficult, since very little is known about Heraclius' early years (p. 19). Of his father, the elder Heraclius, we know that he was first *magister militum per Orientem*, then *magister militum per Armeniam*, and finally exarch in Carthage. Kaegi quite reasonably assumes that the elder Heraclius passed on to his son much that he learned in the course of these military assignments (p. 23). We know that the younger Heraclius followed his father to Africa. Slightly more is known about the rebellion staged against Phocas by the elder Heraclius, his brother Gregory, and their sons, the younger Heraclius and Nicetas respectively. That the rebellion was staged upon the invitation of Phocas' son-in-law Priscus is, Kaegi thinks, probably a later invention (p. 42).

Chapter 2 deals with the various challenges, both internal and external, which Heraclius faced during the first decade of his reign. There was, so it is carefully pointed out, a religious element to the emperor's efforts to meet these challenges : Heraclius had a close relationship with the patriarch Sergius and sought the blessing of St. Theodore of Sykeon (pp. 59-60). Internally he needed to consolidate his power and to legitimatize his position, which he did in part by developing new court ceremonies ; he also was beset by economic problems. Externally he needed to respond to the threat posed by the Persians ; two attempts to negotiate a peace were rejected by King Khusrau (also Khusro or Chosroes) II. Heraclius himself assumed command of his armies, thus becoming the first soldier-emperor since Theodosius the Great. He was not granted success : Damascus fell to the Persians in 613, Jerusalem in 614, and Alexandria in 619. Many attributed these misfortunes to divine wrath. At one time the situation was so hopeless that the desperate emperor considered moving his capital to Carthage ! The loss of Jerusalem was particularly shocking : the Persians massacred thousands of Christians, led others, including the patriarch Zacharias, into

(4) *Geschichte des byzantinischen Staates* (1st ed. ; Munich : C. H. Beck, 1940), pp. 54-69, esp. 54. But in the 3rd ed. (1963), p. 77, and in the English version (New Brunswick : Rutgers University Press, 1969), p. 92, he has become, more modestly, "one of the greatest."

captivity, destroyed many of the city's holy places, and took away the True Cross. Kaegi finds no fault with Heraclius' performance : "Under difficult circumstances, he developed the best military and diplomatic response that he judged to be possible (p. 99)."

Chapter 3, "Taking the Offensive," describes events in the years 619-623. An outbreak of the plague in 619 was attributed, predictably, to divine wrath. Heraclius brought divine displeasure upon himself, it was widely believed, by entering into an incestuous marriage with his niece Martina. (His first wife had died in 312). Kaegi believes that this marriage took place in 622 or 623 ; he is aware that there are good reasons also to date it to 613 (p. 106 with n. 9). On 5 April 622, the day after Easter, Heraclius left Constantinople to take command of his army in Anatolia. He drilled his troops, built up their morale, and inculcated religion in them, invoking, George of Pisidia reports, Davidic language, to which Kaegi rightly calls attention (p. 114). Following some successful engagements with the Persians he returned to Constantinople late in the same year. In 623 he narrowly escaped being captured by the treachery of the Khan of the Avars. Nevertheless a truce was concluded, which allowed Heraclius to take the field against the Persians again in 624.

Chapter 4 summarizes events taking place in the years 624-626. Before resuming military operations in 624, Heraclius made one more attempt to negotiate a peace. Khusrau responded with an insulting letter, which the emperor, always a master at propaganda, released to public knowledge. Kaegi suggests that Heraclius may even have fabricated or altered this letter (pp. 123-124). The religious dimension of the war is demonstrated again : exhorting his soldiers, Heraclius promised the crown of martyrdom and eternal life to those who might die in battle (p. 126) ; but "crusade" would be an inappropriate term, Kaegi warns (n. 16). The Byzantine forces advanced into Armenia and northern Mesopotamia, captured Ganzak, destroyed the Zoroastrian fire-temple at Takhti-i-Suleiman, and finally withdrew to winter quarters further north. Their emperor had made his decision after his soldiers had prayed for three days and after he had consulted the Scriptures (p. 128).

The siege of Constantinople by the Avars in 626 put the emperor, his capital, and his empire to a severe test. Heraclius remained with his troops in the East and entrusted the defense of the city to the Patrician Bonos and the Patriarch Sergius. This siege, deemed by Kaegi to have been the most dangerous point in Heraclius' reign (p. 141), ended in failure, and this failure was a triumph for the Byzantines and for their faith : it was the Theotokos who had saved the city (p. 139). The failure of the siege also showed, in Kaegi's estimation, the soundness of the emperor's military judgment (p. 146). Also, "he developed an excellent expeditionary force, perfected tactics, and managed to defeat Sasanian commanders and their forces on several occasions between 624 and 627" (p. 155).

In Chapter 5, "The Invasion of Mesopotamia," there is more praise for Heraclius' military leadership : "He demonstrated a rare combination of excellent strategic and operational skills" (p. 156). In the so-called Battle of Nineveh, on 12 December 627, the Byzantine army won a splendid victory. Kaegi, always aiming at accuracy, holds that the battle took place on a plain west of Nineveh, 23 or 24 kilometers distant (p. 162). Heraclius also waged psychological warfare and exploited internal Persian divisions, both with great skill (p. 169). The year 628 witnessed the overthrow and death of Khusrau, the defection of the Persian general Shahrbaraz, and the return of peace. By March of 629 Heraclius was back in Constantinople. His campaign had been "a sacred and moral mission" (p. 173).

Chapter 6, "Five Crucial Years," takes the account up to the year 333. The significance of the change in Heraclius' titulature in 629, from *imperator* or *autokrator* to *pistos in Christo basileus,* is not lost on Kaegi (p. 194). The David Plates illustrate a process which Kaegi calls "the Christianization of the secular," but any "relationship other than chronological with Heraclius remains unproven" (p. 198 ; similarly p. 220). The return of the True Cross to Jerusalem by Heraclius is dated to 21 March 330 (p. 206) and constitutes "the summit of his triumphs" (p. 221). Kaegi speaks of "portents" which initially are supposed to have prevented the emperor from entering the city (p. 206). That the nature of these "portents" is not explained is to be regretted because they are so often depicted in medieval paintings. The return of the True Cross links Heraclius in liturgy and in art with Constantine and Helena ; this, too, could have been pointed out. The emperor's efforts to bring about doctrinal union within the Eastern church by means of monoenergism ended in failure (pp. 213-214). A weakness in his system of command was the excessive reliance on family members (p. 227).

Chapter 7 is titled "Tested Again." The test is the confrontation with a new force not anticipated and poorly understood : Islam and the Arabs. When Heraclius first became aware of Islam it was "still in flux," "an evolving religious phenomenon" (p. 229). But the followers of the new faith posed a challenge, one which Heraclius and his advisers miscalculated (p. 236). Indeed, the new challenge was too radical for him, his mental horizons, and his repertory of experiences (p. 254). "Heraclius had gained most of his previous successes through exploiting divisions within the ranks of his opponents" (p. 234) ; that approach was not to work with his new opponents. The battle of Yarmuk, fought over the course of many days ending on 26 August 636, was an unmitigated disaster for the Byzantine side. Although Heraclius did not command his forces in person at that battle, Kaegi holds him ultimately responsible (p. 244). Internal weakness was revealed by a plot on his life, in 637, by his own illegitimate son Athalaric and his nephew Theodore (pp. 260-261).

The final years of Heraclius' life, the subject of Chapter 8, are depressing. The problems besetting the empire were many, military, economic, dynastic, and

ecclesiastical, and Heraclius found it difficult to stay in control (pp. 276-277). He was in poor health and, now in his sixties, certainly did not have the physical and mental strength of his earlier years. Yet he stayed busy until the very end of his life (p. 290). The rivalries between the two branches of his family were covered up by ceremonial demonstrations of familial solidarity (p. 267). He made yet another attempt to settle the theological disputes which had troubled the church for so long. But the *Ekthesis*, proclaiming Monotheletism in lieu of Monoenergism, was rejected by both Chalcedonians and anti-Chalcedonians (pp. 269-271). "His inability to reverse matters was surely bitter for one who had not resigned himself to passivity or to be a mere spectator to events," Kaegi observes (p. 299). On 11 February 641 he passed away.

In the concluding chapter the author provides a carefully balanced assessment of Heraclius, both his successes and his failures. Once again he lauds the emperor's political skills (p. 301), his bold initiatives (p. 302), his extraordinary skill as a commander, strategist, and tactician (p. 304), and his independent leadership (p. 322). While Heraclius lost Syria to the Muslims, he at least managed to stabilize a deteriorating military situation (p. 304), and he helped to make Byzantium to survive for another 800 years (p. 312).

"His effort to unify fractious Christians proved to be his greatest failure," in Kaegi's estimation (pp. 305-306). [No one has succeeded at that task, yet, one may observe.] Kaegi points out another failure : "As expert as he [Heraclius] was in exploiting others' internal fissures, he failed to seal the fissures within his own family and regime" (p. 308). "Controversy in different forms has plagued his [Heraclius'] reputation and significance even in the twentieth century," Kaegi remarks, "and very likely will in the twenty-first," he adds modestly (p. 322).

There are 10 maps, 6 pertinent figures, all of coins, a chronological table, a select, but rich bibliography, which includes Arabic sources, and a detailed index. The book is beautifully produced. I have spotted only two typographical errors !

Throughout the book there is much emphasis on military matters. Routes of march, battle formations, topography, communication, and logistics all receive due attention. The *Strategikon* of Maurikios or Pseudo-Maurice is frequently cited. Perhaps more detail is given than some readers might care for. But excellent maps, especially drawn for this book, not borrowed from some other source, help to establish clarity. Although the religious dimension is never lost sight of, some readers might wish that the theological concepts of Monophysitism, Monoenergism, and Monotheletism had been dealt with in more depth.

The scope of the book is clearly defined and strictly adhered to. "Heraclius after Heraclius," which would be another rich and rewarding field of inquiry, is only touched upon. Within the chronological framework of the book all pertinent topics are accommodated. The use of primary sources in several languages is conscientious, their interpretation responsible and cautious. The use of Arabic

sources is especially noteworthy (5). The documentation is ample. Professor Kaegi writes with clarity and precision. He does not engage in speculation. "There is no evidence that . . . ," he warns repeatedly. As he promised in his Introduction, he has avoided both panegyrical and hostile characterizations of a significant but controversial figure in history and has given us a fair and objective portrait that will be the standard for a long time. All who have an interest in Byzantine history will be grateful to him.

Heraclius also occupies a place in ecclesiastical history. Those who are particularly interested in this aspect will do well to consult H. G. BECK, *Geschichte der orthodoxen Kirche im byzantinischen Reich*, Göttingen, Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1980, pp. 54-62, and Judith HERRIN, *The Formation of Christendom*, Princeton, Princeton University Press, 1987, pp. 206-219. And there is another, more detailed and more recent study : F. WINKELMANN, *Der monenergetisch-monotheletische Streit*, Frankfurt, Peter Lang, 2001, 307 pages. ISBN 3 6313 7377 5.

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(5) In this field Kaegi has long been a leader. See, e. g., his *Heraklios and the Arabs*, in : *Greek Orthodox Theological Review* 27 (1982), pp. 109-133, and *Byzantium and the Early Islamic Conquests*, Cambridge, 1992, especially pp. 14-17.

LA LITTÉRATURE MÉSO-BYZANTINE

La littérature de la période après Justinien Ier fait l'objet de trois ouvrages généraux reçus par la Rédaction. Sans couvrir exactement les mêmes périodes, ces ouvrages se réfèrent à celle que nous qualifions de «méso-byzantine». Le premier, intitulé *Patrologia*, vol. V (éd. A. Di Berardino) : *Dal Concilio di Calcedonia (451) a Giovanni Damasceno († 750). I Padri orientali* (*Institutum Patristicum Augustinianum*), Gênes, Marietti, 2000, XIII + 719 pages. ISBN 88-211-6709-7, un ouvrage collectif, porte sur la littérature patristique qui présente encore des affinités avec la période protobyzantine, puisqu'il envisage les Pères du Ve s., sans aller plus loin que le VIIIe s. Ce découpage de l'histoire est d'une certaine manière imposé par le plan général de l'édition, car ce cinquième volume est la réplique orientale du quatrième volume qui a pour objet les Pères occidentaux durant la même période (*I Padri latini dal Concilio di Calcedonia [451] a Beda il Venerabile [† 735]*). Le deuxième, dû au Professeur Th. Detorakis, *Βυζαντινὴ φιλολογία. Τὰ πρόσωπα καὶ τὰ κείμενα*, vol. II, Héraclion, chez l'Auteur, 2003, 603 pages. ISBN 960-90199-6-X, envisage tous les aspects de la production littéraire entre la fin du règne de Justinien Ier et le patriarcat de Photius. Cela implique aussi des auteurs qui appartiennent encore à l'époque que l'A. qualifie d'«hellénistique», c'est-à-dire la Haute époque byzantine. Le troisième, œuvre du Professeur A. Karpozilos, *Βυζαντινοὶ ἱστορικοὶ καὶ χρονογράφοι*, vol. II : *(8ος-10ος αἰ.)*, Athènes, Κανάκης, 2002, 653 pages. ISBN 960-7420-78-0 (set 960-7420-30-6), est le plus éloigné de la période proto-byzantine. Il ne recoupe pratiquement pas le premier et de plus il s'intéresse à l'historiographie byzantine.

La Rédaction a encore reçu des monographies qui ont pour objet l'étude des phénomènes littéraires durant la période méso-byzantine, ainsi que de nouvelles éditions de textes littéraires de la même période. Enfin, les actes d'un colloque international tenu à Nicosie en 2000 et ayant pour objet l'histoire de la littérature byzantine figurent aussi parmi les ouvrages reçus par la Rédaction. Examinons de plus près ces travaux en commençant par les trois volumes à caractère général.

Le cinquième volume de la *Patrologia* éditée par A. Di Berardino est en réalité composé de trois grandes parties : la première (p. 3-411, ch. I-V) concerne les Pères ayant écrit en langue grecque ; sa rédaction est assurée par M. Simonetti qui, outre l'*Introduction*, divise sa matière i) en littérature de l'aire constantino-

politaine et micrasiatique, ii) en littérature grecque de la région syrienne, iii) en littérature grecque de la région palestinienne et en littérature grecque de la région égyptienne. La deuxième partie (p. 415-607, ch. VI-VIII) a pour objet les Pères ayant écrit en syriaque (par P. Bettiolo), en copte (par T. Orlandi) et en arménien (par S. Voicu). La troisième partie (p. 611-683, ch. IX et X) concerne les chaînes exégétiques en grec (par C. Curti et Maria Antonietta Barbara) et la littérature canonique et liturgique (par A. Di Berardino et M. Nin). Les index (p. 687-700) complètent le volume. Dans l'*Introduction* générale du volume est présenté le contexte historique, social et religieux de la période envisagée ; une note sur la production littéraire complète l'introduction. La présentation de la matière suit dans tous les cas le même schéma : après une brève introduction sont présentés, dans un ordre chronologique aussi précis que possible, les différents écrivains byzantins ayant laissé une œuvre littéraire dont le contenu est en rapport avec l'Église ou la foi chrétienne. Pour chacun des ces auteurs, une notice donne l'essentiel de sa biographie et de son activité littéraire. Suit l'énumération des éditions de son œuvre, ainsi que celle des traductions connues. La notice est complétée par une bibliographie qui, sans être toujours exhaustive, cite les études les plus significatives ayant pour objet le personnage étudié ; les lemmes des dictionnaires spécialisés et des encyclopédies historiques y tiennent une place importante.

Le grand avantage du volume tient sans doute à sa clarté et à sa richesse bibliographique. Mais il ne faut pas y chercher une étude très développée ni une recherche poussée au sujet de chaque auteur étudié ; c'est en réalité un genre d'encyclopédie patristique. On ne peut donc pas parler d'une étude sur la littérature byzantine ou sur son évolution ; moins encore d'une étude stylistique, linguistique ou thématique de la période envisagée. En outre, la qualification de «Père de l'Église» (puisqu'il s'agit d'une Patrologie) paraît dans ce volume plutôt aléatoire. Par ex. dans quelle mesure le rédacteur d'une *Vita* ou d'une *Collection des Miracles* peut-il être considéré comme un Père de l'Église ? Et dans une telle logique, comment qualifier les rédacteurs anonymes des notices de synaxaires, les compilateurs ou les scoliastes anonymes, dont il n'est pas question ? Ou encore, comment qualifier les empereurs qui ont rédigé des lettres de convocation des conciles ou plus encore ceux qui, comme Héraclius ou Constant II, ont rédigé des traités théologiques, mais non orthodoxes ? On peut aussi regretter l'absence de mention d'écrivains byzantins, dont l'œuvre n'est pas sauvée, mais dont nous savons qu'ils ont écrit des textes de portée théologique.

Le deuxième volume de la *Philologie byzantine* du Professeur Théocharis Detorakis est divisé en trois parties. La première (p. 19-262, en cinq chapitres) couvre la période qui va du règne de Justinien Ier à celui d'Héraclius. La deuxième (p. 263-452, en quatre chapitres) concerne ce que l'A. qualifie de «siècles obscurs», à savoir la période entre le règne d'Héraclius et la fin de l'iconoclasme (milieu du IXe s.). La troisième (p. 455-580, sans chapitres) traite l'époque de

Photius. Y est attaché un paragraphe concernant les œuvres douteuses attribuées à l'empereur Basile Ier. Le volume est complété par des index très fouillés.

Dans ce cas aussi, il s'agit d'une sorte d'encyclopédie, car chaque auteur est envisagé séparément. Il n'y a aucune synthèse historique ou littéraire et encore moins sociale ou linguistique. Les écrivains sont rangés selon un ordre chronologique. Malgré le fait que plusieurs dates proposées ne font pas l'unanimité parmi les byzantinistes, en général la succession des auteurs dans le temps est acceptable. L'A. considère comme écrivain toute personne ayant rédigé un texte arrivé jusqu'à nous. Donc les auteurs anonymes, les empereurs et même les personnes morales, comme les synodes, sont traités de la même façon que les auteurs dont les noms sont connus. Ne sont toutefois pas étudiés les écrivains dont l'œuvre est perdue, mais dont des extraits sont repris par d'autres, comme par ex. le Grand Chroniqueur qui a servi de source à plusieurs chroniques. Concernant la présentation de la matière, chaque auteur est introduit par une notice biographique (pour les synodes, une courte introduction historique), qui fatalement pour les personnages très connus, tels les empereurs, les patriarches, etc. n'a qu'une valeur d'introduction. A la fin de la notice, un paragraphe est consacré à l'évaluation de l'œuvre de l'écrivain, mais cette évaluation n'est pas toujours fondée sur les mêmes critères : tantôt il s'agit d'une évaluation historique, tantôt d'une évaluation littéraire qui tient compte parfois du style, parfois de la langue, parfois du contenu. Pour les œuvres poétiques, l'évaluation peut porter aussi sur la métrique ou sur l'esthétique. Chaque notice est complétée par deux rubriques : l'une reprenant les éditions et les traductions des œuvres de l'auteur étudié, et une autre englobant la bibliographie ; cette dernière reste toutefois sélective dans le plupart des cas. Ici aussi les critères qui ont primé pour tel ou tel choix ne sont pas évoqués et on s'étonne à plus d'une reprise d'y voir mentionnées des études qui n'ont pratiquement rien apporté de neuf à la science historique et de l'absence d'autres dont l'apport reste fondamental. La notice est assortie d'un ou plusieurs extraits des textes (ici aussi les critères du choix ne sont pas évoqués), tirés de l'œuvre de l'auteur étudié ; parfois une très brève notice introductive spécifie davantage l'extrait choisi. A la fin de chaque extrait est signalée l'édition dont l'extrait est tiré, sans toutefois préciser la raison qui a guidé l'A. à choisir l'édition précise dans le cas où il existe plus d'une édition du même texte. L'extrait est suivi de scolies linguistiques et historiques, couramment appuyées par une bibliographie spécifique. L'utilité de ces scolies n'est pas pour autant évidente dans un ouvrage qui a pour objet la littérature et non pas l'histoire ou les institutions byzantines.

Comme pour l'ouvrage précédent, la plus grande qualité de ce volume reste sa clarté et la facilité avec laquelle on peut dans un temps très limité avoir accès à des informations de base pour entamer une recherche plus détaillée ou plus poussée. Il ne faut pas chercher dans un tel volume l'avancement de questions qui restent depuis longtemps en suspens, comme par ex. le contexte social et

intellectuel de l'apparition de nouvelles formes littéraires (comme la chronique ou le roman hagiographique), de nouvelles formes linguistiques ou des signes annonciateurs de nouveaux goûts esthétiques. La grande faiblesse, dans ce cas aussi, reste l'absence d'une synthèse qu'on espère toujours trouver dans un ouvrage de philologie byzantine.

Le Professeur Apostolos KARPOZILOS, dans une assez longue introduction, explique les traits généraux de l'historiographie de la période méso-byzantine en insistant sur le changement que constitue le passage de l'«Histoire» à la «Chronique». Pour souligner le caractère significatif de cette nouvelle orientation de l'historiographie, il évoque les remarques faites par Photius dans sa *Bibliothèque*, où le savant byzantin codifie point par point les différences entre ces deux genres littéraires historiques. La chronique toutefois n'est pas un genre littéraire uniforme. On peut distinguer des tendances plutôt vers l'histoire, comme par ex. chez Théophane ou chez Nicéphore le Patriarche, ou vers le récit merveilleux, à caractère théologique et édifiant, comme chez Georges le Moine. Cela permet à l'A. d'effectuer un survol de la production historiographique durant la période envisagée et de s'exprimer sur les courants internes qui caractérisent cette littérature. Nous pouvons donc parler dans ce cas d'une synthèse, qui donne l'aspect général et évolutif de l'écriture historique à Byzance.

Le volume, l'*Introduction* mise à part, est divisé en trois parties. La première a pour objet l'historiographie de la période iconoclaste, à savoir Nicéphore le Patriarche, Georges Syncelle, Théophane le Confesseur, les deux chroniques anonymes (celle dite *de 811* et celle dite *de Léon l'Arménien*) et Georges le Moine. La deuxième partie est consacrée à Jean Caméniates, Constantin VII Porphyrogénète, Joseph Génésios, les Continuateurs de Théophane, Syméon Magister et Léon le Diacre. La troisième partie envisage d'une part les *Chroniques brèves,* et de l'autre des *compilations historiques*. L'introduction de cette partie constitue un excellent état de la question au sujet de ces textes généralement courts, de leurs sources et de leurs modèles.

La matière est donc divisée par auteur, mais les rubriques n'ont pas de caractère biographique ; il s'agit d'une présentation du contenu et d'une vision critique des problèmes qu'un texte pose, qui peuvent être philologiques, historiques, paléographiques, etc. En tout cas, chaque texte est vu dans le cadre de la production historique byzantine, ses sources sont mises en exergue, et les influences exercées sur l'historiographie plus récente sont examinées. On peut donc parler d'une étude synthétique, et cela distingue cet ouvrage des deux précédents. La rubrique est assortie de la mention des éditions et des traductions, complétée par une bibliographie générale et une bibliographie spécifique, qui sans être exhaustive, est assez fouillée. Cette présentation est suivie de l'analyse d'un événement historique précis, rapporté par l'écrivain étudié, mais qui est vu en outre sous l'angle d'autres sources. Il s'agit chaque fois d'une véritable dissertation historique, mais dont l'utilité n'est pas toujours évidente dans un ouvra-

ge qui ne se fixe pas pour objectif l'histoire événementielle, mais l'étude des historiens. Sans doute, cette étude permet au lecteur d'avoir une idée beaucoup plus claire sur la manière dont un auteur byzantin a utilisé ses sources, aussi bien que sur sa vision de la vérité historique. Cette dissertation se termine par la citation du texte principal, assorti de notes de toute nature, sans doute très poussées, très complètes et très savantes mais dont l'utilité est aussi peu compréhensible que celle de la dissertation historique qui précède.

Le point fort de cette étude est, tout d'abord, sa clarté, et cela en dépit de la complexité de certaines questions abordées. Ensuite, l'analyse très poussée des œuvres byzantines à caractère historique et la présentation critique des conclusions de recherches antérieures, ce qui prouve que l'A. est en pleine possession de son sujet. Toutefois, l'A. décide parfois de manière arbitraire en faveur de l'une ou de l'autre hypothèse, sans convaincre le lecteur du bien fondé de son choix. Comme faiblesse principale nous pouvons évoquer l'absence de considérations valables sur la langue byzantine de l'époque. L'intérêt est porté sur le seul contenu, l'information ; pratiquement rien n'est dit sur le véhicule de ces informations, le grec méso-byzantin. On peut encore signaler le peu d'intérêt pour des œuvres perdues, pour lesquelles nous disposons de suffisamment d'indices. Certes, dans la troisième partie du volume il est souvent question de ces textes disparus (alors qu'il n'en est pratiquement pas question dans les deux ouvrages précédents), mais sans véritable volonté d'aller plus loin, comme on pouvait l'espérer dans un travail de synthèse.

Pami les nouvelles éditions, celle de L. Rydén, *The Life of St Philaretos the Merciful Written by his Grandson Niketas. A Critical Edition with Introduction, Translation, Notes, and Indices* (*Acta Universitatis Upsaliensis. Studia Byzantina Upsaliensia*, 8), Uppsala, chez l'auteur, 2002, 143 pages. ISBN 91-554-5200-0 ; ISSN 0283-1244, ne modifie pas de manière significative l'édition de M.-H. Foumy et de M. Leroy parue dans *Byzantion*, 9 (1934). Sa valeur consiste, la traduction anglaise mise à part, dans son introduction historique. L'A. y analyse d'abord les données relatives au rédacteur du texte qui n'est autre que Nicétas, petit-fils de Philarète, sans toutefois apporter de nouvelles informations. Suit l'étude de Philarète comme personnage historique ; les hypothèses avancées au sujet des dates proposées restent toujours à prouver. Par contre, les remarques sur le contexte social évoqué par Nicétas, les détails de la vie quotidienne, y compris le concours de beauté pour l'élection de l'impératrice Marie, première épouse de Constantin VI, vont dans un sens généralement admis par les historiens. La comparaison entre la biographie de Philarète et le *Livre de Job*, malgré son ingéniosité, ne repose sur rien et ne prouve rien. L'historicité de cette biographie est mise en doute par certains chercheurs, mais leur contestation manque de conviction ; il est dommage que L. Rydén ne prenne pas position à ce propos. Ce livre a beaucoup de mérites, nous les avons déjà indiqués. Il y a toutefois aussi des faiblesses. La première est que l'A. se limite à un état de la

question, sans proposer de solutions aux problèmes historiques. En outre, ne manquons pas de signaler l'absence d'étude linguistique et surtout littéraire d'une pièce qui est caractérisée comme un petit chef d'œuvre de la littérature méso-byzantine.

Léon Magister Choirosphactes fait déjà partie de la renaissance macédonienne. Puisque cette époque fait partie de la période méso-byzantine, nous traitons ici l'étude d'I. Vassis, *Leon Magistros Choirosphaktes. Chiliostichos Theologia* (*Supplementa Byzantina*, 6), Berlin et N. York, Walter de Gruyter, 2002, 239 pages + 4 planches hors texte. ISBN 3-11-017531-2. Il s'agit d'une d'édition critique du poème «*Sur la théologie*» de Léon Magister, assortie d'une traduction allemande. Le texte est transmis par un seul manuscrit, le *Vaticanus Gr.* 1257 ; A. Rhoby a fait une édition diplomatique du poème en 1997, ce qui rend un peu superflue la nouvelle édition. La présente édition tient compte, surtout pour l'établissement de l'orthographe, des textes bibliques utilisés par Léon et des passages de ce poème repris par des sources plus récentes ; pourtant nous nous demandons si cette édition est justifiée. Le travail n'innove pas non plus dans le domaine de la biographie de Léon Magister ni dans celui des œuvres qui lui sont attribuées. Comme l'A. le signale, la biographie de Léon, élaborée par G. Kolias en 1939, reste valable. Le livre présente de l'intérêt dans la partie où l'A. traite des questions relatives à la langue et au style de Léon, qui, ne l'oublions pas, fut un homme très instruit et un excellent utilisateur de la langue archaïsante des lettrés de son temps. A ce titre, le livre s'insère parfaitement dans le courant qui veut que la littérature byzantine ne soit pas vue seulement comme source d'informations ou document historique, mais aussi comme un produit d'esthétique byzantine. C'est là que nous pouvons faire appel aux auteurs des articles *Pour une «Nouvelle» Histoire de la littérature Byzantine. Actes du colloque international philologique. Nicosie, 25-28 mai 2000* (= *Dossiers byzantins*, 1), Paris, Centre d'Études Byzantines, Néo-Helléniques et Sud-Est Européennes, 2002, 233 pages. ISBN 2-9518366-0-0. Ce colloque n'avait pas pour objet la période méso-byzantine ; il visait l'approche réservée par les spécialistes à la production littéraire byzantine. Le point de départ et à la fois la conclusion de ce colloque peuvent se trouver dans les remarques de P. Agapitos (*Ἡ θέση τῆς αἰσθητικῆς ἀποτίμησης σὲ μία "νέα" ἱστορία τῆς βυζαντινῆς λογοτεχνίας*, pp. 185-232) pour qui l'appréciation esthétique n'avait pas de place dans l'*Histoire de la littérature byzantine* de K. Krumbacher ; l'approche de ce dernier consistait en l'appréciation et l'évaluation des écrits byzantins. Cette vision historique doit être complétée par une vision esthétique et par une recherche sur l'évaluation de cette littérature par le lecteur byzantin à qui elle était destinée. Dans le même esprit, l'article de P. Magdalino, *A History of Byzantine Literature for Historians* (p. 167-184), signale en plus que tous les textes byzantins ne peuvent pas être abordés de la même manière ; il y a des degrés d'approche : un poème liturgique est d'une autre esthétique que le poème de *Digénis*, tandis que Procope n'est pas

Constantin Porphyrogénète. En tout cas, l'opposition entre «littéraires» et «historiens» selon Y. HERSANT (*A l'ouest, du nouveau ?*, p. 25-36) doit céder la place à une nouvelle vision de la littérature qu'il ne faut pas expliquer par les phénomènes historiques et sociaux ; il faut situer un texte dans l'histoire, le considérer comme une construction anthropologique et non pas comme une donnée invariable. E. CHRYSOS, *Illuminating Darkness by Candlelight : Literature in the Dark Ages* (p. 13-24), partage les principes de Y. Hersant et souligne que les écrivains du VII^e^ et du VIII^e^ s., considérés en général comme peu intéressants, vus sous l'angle de la *littéralité* et de l'*expression poétique*, occuperont une place importante dans une «Nouvelle Histoire de la Littérature Byzantine», qui prendra en considération le texte comme expression de la culture de son temps. Il est indéniable qu'il faut une nouvelle Histoire de la littérature byzantine. Comme le dit Margaret MULLETT (*New Literary History and the History of Byzantine Literature : A Worthwhile Endeavour ?*, p. 37-60), cette nouvelle manière d'envisager les textes byzantins doit tenir compte des conclusions de la recherche fondamentale dans ce domaine. La question est de savoir dans quelle mesure une telle vision est possible au moins pour certains textes byzantins, car l'A. ne semble pas très convaincue elle-même. Cette question préoccupe aussi P. ODORICO, (*L'auteur byzantin. Taxinomie et systématique : un essai de définition*, p. 61-80), pour qui l'environnement intellectuel des écrivains byzantins reste dans bien des cas mal connu. Il ne suffit pas de ranger un auteur dans une période et de le qualifier d'«historien», de «rhéteur», de «scientifique», etc. Il faut encore savoir pourquoi il écrivait. Était-il un professionnel ? Et dans ce cas, qui étaient les clients ? Quel public visait-il et pour quelles raisons ? Avant d'avancer dans ces domaines, il est aléatoire de définir un texte byzantin autrement que comme «produit littéraire». D. R. REINSCH (*Historia ancilla litterarum* ?, p. 81-94), essaye une approche littéraire de la *Chronique de Constantin Manasses*, un produit littéraire de la période des Comnènes, qui de ce fait n'intéresse pas la période méso-byzantine. Manasses reste dans la diachronie des chroniqueurs, mais sa composition a une valeur esthétique aussi importante que sa valeur historique. Dans le même ordre d'idée, les conclusions de J. LJUBARSKIJ, *Michael Psellos in the History of Byzantine Literature : Some Modern Approaches* (p. 107-116), expriment le regret de voir l'œuvre de Psellos généralement sous-évaluée par les historiens, alors qu'il s'agit, d'un point de vue purement littéraire, d'un des auteurs les plus remarquables de toute la période byzantine. Dans une telle vision de la production littéraire, la rhétorique doit tenir une place plus significative que celle que les historiens de la littérature lui ont attribuée jusqu'à présent. C'est la position de deux articles, celui de B. KATSAROS (*Η ρητορική ως "θεωρία λογοτεχνίας" των Βυζαντινών*, p. 95-106) et celui de Théodora ANTONOPOULOU (*Η ομιλητική και η θέση της σε μια νέα ιστορία της βυζαντινής λογοτεχνίας*, p. 117-137). Pour le premier, les historiens de la littérature rhétorique l'ont envisagée d'une manière traditionnelle et non pas comme l'art de la parole qui orga-

nise le discours selon une architecture, une plasticité et un rythme qui lui sont propres. La seconde aboutit aux mêmes conclusions en y ajoutant que dans le domaine des homélies, il reste encore beaucoup à faire, car tous les écrits ne sont pas encore enregistrés. Si cela est valable pour la prose, ce l'est encore beaucoup plus dans le domaine poétique, comme le signale M. LAUXTERMANN, (*Byzantine Poetry in Context,* p. 139-151), pour qui, dans ce domaine, le problème est plutôt inversé. Ici c'est le contexte qui échappe au lecteur moderne, raison pour laquelle la poésie byzantine tient une place mineure dans les histoires de la littérature byzantine. Pour terminer, signalons l'article de M. HINTERBERGER, *Δημώδης και λόγια λογοτεχνία : Διαχωριστικές γραμμές και συνδετικοί κρίκοι* (p. 153-165), pour qui la littérature byzantine n'est toujours pas reconnue comme valeur linguistique autonome, mais comme une parente pauvre du grec ancien ou un précurseur maladroit du grec moderne. Dans une nouvelle vision de la littérature, il faut dès lors dépasser la division de la production littéraire byzantine en «savante» et «populaire», car il s'agit de la même réalité autrement exprimée.

Dans ces études, il y a sans doute du vrai : la littérature byzantine est vue pratiquement sous un angle historique, comme source d'informations. Rarement elle est considérée comme porteuse de valeurs littéraires et esthétiques, comme étant gérée par les lois de la musicalité, du rythme, de la littéralité, de la poésie linguistique, de la beauté de la langue. Sous cet angle, les trois ouvrages généraux que nous avons examinés au début de cette chronique restent dans la ligne pure de la vision «historique», remarque valable pour les éditions que nous avons recensées. Or, passer d'une extrémité à une autre ne sert à rien. Car les auteurs des articles de ce volume partant d'un ouvrage connu, consacré à la littérature byzantine, y voient le mauvais côté : la position «historique». Il est certain que le point de vue de l'esthétique ne fait pas partie des préoccupations de K. Krumbacher, de G. Beck, de D. Zakythenos, de G. Gibbon, de H. Hunger, etc., qui font l'objet d'une critique acerbe. Mais sans ces «historiens», on peut se demander où se trouverait l'étude de la littérature byzantine ? Il est vrai que A. Kazhdan, comme dans d'autres domaines, a rénové l'étude de la littérature byzantine, mais il est aussi vrai que le progrès de la science est plus le point de mire de plusieurs recherches que la découverte d'une seule personne.

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COMPTES RENDUS

G. DIMITROKALLIS, *Γεράκι. Οι τοιχογραφίες των ναών του Κάστρου*, Athènes, 2001, 197 pages, 362 fig. en noir et blanc.

Cet ouvrage est la seconde contribution du Professeur G. Dimitrokallis à l'étude des églises de Géraki, en Laconie. La première était consacrée aux monuments de la bourgade homonyme (N. MOUTSOPOULOS – G. DIMITROKALLIS, *Γεράκι. Οι εκκλησίες του Οικισμού*, Thessalonique, 1981). Celle que nous considérons ici traite principalement de la peinture murale des églises du Kastro (le château) de Géraki. L'étude des monuments de la région demeure incomplète puisque, comme l'A. lui-même le constate, une vingtaine d'églises attend encore d'être publiée.

Les reproductions en noir et blanc qui accompagnent le texte, d'excellente qualité, prises et développées par l'A. lui-même, constituent un précieux matériau pour les études comparatives. Les plans architecturaux ne sont pas reproduits ; l'A. annonce une étude spécialement dédiée à l'architecture de ces églises.

Les églises du château sont au nombre de neuf, de dimensions réduites et de plan architectural simple. Elles sont datées du XIII^e^ au milieu du XV^e^ s. Les recherches antérieures les concernant restent fragmentaires, rapides. La présente étude, divisée en neuf chapitres, consacre un chapitre à chaque monument. Ces chapitres sont suivis d'un aperçu général sur la peinture de Géraki, telle qu'on la connaît grâce aux monuments de la bourgade et du château.

L'A. aborde brièvement l'architecture du monument et donne, par la suite, une description précise de son décor pictural et iconographique. Il étudie ensuite les motifs décoratifs sculptés, fréquemment associés avec les portiques, les ouvertures de fenêtres et l'encadrement des icônes. Enfin, il porte son attention sur la maçonnerie, surtout lorsque cela l'aide à dater un monument (comme par exemple pour l'église de Sainte-Catherine). Son travail méticuleux porte aussi sur les inscriptions qui accompagnent les images, ou concernent les donateurs (p. 27).

L'église de Saint-Georges est l'un des monuments qui occupe le plus l'A. Ses dimensions sont plus importantes que celles des autres églises du château (9 × 13 m.). Construite en plusieurs phases, elle possède un plan basilical à trois nefs.

La nef sud a été ajoutée plus tard, peut-être après les Francs (1262). Durant la construction de l'église, on a utilisé des pièces d'architecture (chapiteaux, colonnes, etc.) d'époques antérieures, antiques ou paléochrétiennes. Au-dessus de la porte d'entrée, qui conduit du narthex à la nef centrale, figure un blason, que l'A. attribue à l'une des familles de Nivelet ayant dominé la région de Géraki lors de l'occupation franque. Grâce au motif sculpté qui décore les colonnes de l'iconostase, le «nœud d'Héraklès», l'A. entame une longue étude qui déborde largement le cadre régional de Géraki et de la Laconie à l'époque byzantine ; sa recherche s'étend aux périodes paléochrétienne et post-byzantine, et est étoffée de comparaisons fournies par des œuvres architecturales et sculpturales (sarcophages et icônes de marbre en relief) et des manuscrits. Dépassant les limites géographiques, il localise ce motif dans des œuvres de la civilisation égyptienne, de l'Asie centrale et de l'Inde.

La présentation du décor peint est entrecoupée d'analyses iconographiques, plus longues pour les scènes d'intérêt particulier. À propos de la «Descente de Croix» (p. 57) par exemple, qui se trouve sur le mur occidental de la nef centrale, il attire l'attention sur le détail de Jean qui tient un voile. À notre avis, c'est un détail iconographique occidental, car on le trouve dans des oeuvres occidentales qui datent du XI^e^ s. L'étude donne également une analyse exhaustive de la fleur de lys dans l'art byzantin, aussi bien que du motif composé du croissant de lune et de l'étoile. L'A., sans faire une analyse iconographique et stylistique détaillée, met en doute ce qui était reçu jusqu'ici. C'est notamment le cas pour la datation des fresques de l'iconostase construit en maçonnerie, que M. Chatzidakis situait au XIII^e^ siècle. Pour sa part, Dimitrokallis propose une date postérieure pour l'icône du Christ. Enfin, il émet des remarques intéressantes accompagnées de données bibliographiques abondantes sur l'inscription relative à «Sébastos Tzaousios Isaakios» (p. 70), que l'A. rapproche d'un dignitaire byzantin.

L'arc sculpté qui encadre l'icône peinte de saint Georges à cheval tuant le dragon, dans la nef nord et sur le mur nord, font l'objet de multiples observations. L'A. accepte l'opinion de Ch. Bouras, qui considère que les éléments de cette sculpture exécutés en haut-relief relèvent du style occidental de l'époque. La majeure partie du décor mural de l'église de Saint-Georges doit dater de 1262, alors que le reste des peintures semble avoir été exécuté au XIV^e^ siècle.

L'église de la Vierge Eléoussa présente un intérêt particulier et l'A. y consacre de longues pages. Le portique principal de l'église, encadré de blocs de poros sculpté, que l'A. dit provenir d'un monument franc d'époque antérieure, retient particulièrement l'attention. À droite du portique, un motif sculpté paraît spécialement intéressant : celui du nœud qui forme une rosace à six pointes ou étoile de David (en anglais : six-pointed star, hexagram, magen David, shield of David et qui, bien que rare, est répandu sur des monuments en Laconie (p. 104).

Ici, également, la présentation du décor peint est sommaire, avec une mise en relief des scènes importantes. À propos du Christ de pitié (p. 121, fig. 252b), il

faut ajouter l'article de D. Simic Lazar, *Le Christ de pitié vivant. L'exemple de Kalenic*, dans *Zograf*, 20 (1989), p. 81-94. L'iconographie de saint Jean Baptiste figuré sur le mur occidental du naos est intéressante. Il est représenté ailé, debout, légèrement tourné de côté, et inclinant la tête ; de la main droite il fait le geste de la prière et de la main gauche il tient un rouleau déployé. L'A. note que ce type iconographique est une création théologique et que la composition de Géraki détonne par rapport à toutes les autres connues, byzantines et post-byzantines, parce que le Baptiste ne regarde pas vers le haut. À cause de l'inclinaison de sa tête, cette image est rattachée à deux autres voisines, celles du Pantocrator et de la Vierge de l'iconostase : toutes les trois forment une Déisis. Dans la bibliographie, l'étude de A. Katsioti, *Οι σκηνές της ζωής και ο εικονογραφικός κύκλος του Αγίου Ιωάννη Προδρόμου στη Βυζαντινή τέχνη*, Athènes, 1998, n'est pas reprise.

On notera encore les observations sur la représentation magnifique du Christ traîné sur la Croix et celle de la Nativité, où l'A. approfondit sa recherche pour certains détails narratifs, mais qui sont au fond des symboles. Ainsi, la présence du bœuf et de l'âne à côté de l'Enfant dans la crèche est justement liée à un symbolisme d'origine biblique (Is. XXXII, 19-20). Eusèbe de Césarée explique que pour les Pères de l'Église, le bœuf représente le peuple de circoncision et l'âne le peuple des nations (*PG*, 24, col. 324). Si l'explication de ce détail n'est pas tout à fait omise chez différents chercheurs (cf. E. Papastavrou, *Il tema della Natività sul timpano del portale occidentale della catedrale di Traù*, dans *Thesaurismata*, 22 (1992), p. 13), elle est en effet peu courante, comme en témoigne la vaste bibliographie que l'A. cite. Mais il va plus loin : dans la mythologie grecque et égyptienne, il trouve des parallélismes dans les puissances du bien représentées par le bœuf et celles du mal représentées par l'âne. Signalons encore des commentaires sur d'autres détails, tels la place de Joseph dans la composition, ou l'iconographie des bergers. Il est regrettable que l'A. ne s'exprime pas à ce sujet dans le texte principal, mais relègue fréquemment dans les notes infrapaginales des observations capitales.

Enfin, un long commentaire est consacré à la scène de la Chute de Jéricho de l'église du Saint-Taxiarque, qui constitue sûrement la version la plus complète connue de ce sujet ; elle est datée de la fin du XIII^e^ s. (l'apparition de l'Archange à Josué, les morts après une lutte précédente et les agresseurs qui persécutent les défenseurs ; puis, les prêtres aux trompettes et les murs qui s'écroulent). L'A. observe que ce sujet connaît son essor en Grèce après 1261 et suppose que ce phénomène peut être mis en rapport avec la défaite des Francs en 1261 et la victoire de Michel VIII Paléologue, qui a fait ériger à Constantinople une grande statue de l'Archange Michel, alors que celle de Josué à cheval s'y trouvait déjà auparavant.

Pour le reste, nous laissons au lecteur le plaisir de découvrir ce volume. Rappelons seulement que celui-ci se termine par quelques remarques générales sur la peinture à Géraki. L'A. observe qu'elle reste fidèle à la tradition byzanti-

ne, malgré quelques influences occidentales sporadiques ; il suppose l'existence d'une école d'artistes locale et présume qu'une étude approfondie des monuments de Laconie fournira de plus amples informations.

Comme on l'a déjà dit, les commentaires sur l'iconographie ne sont pas toujours très détaillés, ce qui évite des descriptions ennuyeuses. Néanmoins, l'A. note et corrige les erreurs qu'il a trouvées ça et là dans la bibliographie ; à propos de chaque sujet abordé, il présente de manière critique les diverses opinions ; enfin, il enrichit son texte d'une bibliographie exhaustive.

L'étude déborde largement le sujet que le titre annonce, car en effet, si les peintures murales des églises du château de Géraki constituent son objectif principal, ses intérêts divers conduisent l'A. non seulement à effectuer de vastes recherches sur la sculpture, mais également à formuler des remarques perspicaces sur l'architecture, comme sur la technique de la maçonnerie, et enfin sur l'histoire. Sa langue grecque est riche, en système accentué, ce qui n'intéresse bien sûr que le public grec, mais qui est remarquable de nos jours, puisque cela témoigne d'une culture humaniste et d'un désir de transmettre au public un travail achevé à tous points de vue. Cet ouvrage sera utile à tous ceux qui s'intéressent aux derniers siècles de l'art byzantin. Il constitue certainement un outil indispensable pour les chercheurs étudiant les monuments de Laconie.

Hélène PAPASTAVROU.

Eutychia PAPADOPOULOU, Μαρίνος Σανούδος Τορσέλλο, *Ιστορία της Ρωμανίας* / Marin Sanudo Torsello, *Istoria di Romania* (*Sources* 4 / Hellenic National Research Foundation, Institute for Byzantine Research), Athens, 2000, pp. XXVI+337. ISBN 960-371-013-X.

Materializing Joseph-Raymond Loenertz's vision for a new edition of the *Istoria del Regno di Romania,* put forth in an authoritative contribution about thirty years ago (*Pour une édition nouvelle de l' Historia del Regno di Romania de Marin Sanudo l'Ancien*, in *Studi Veneziani,* 16 [1974], p. 33-65), E. Papadopoulou, a researcher in the Athens Byzantine Research Institute (formerly better known as Byzantine Research Centre), has methodically produced a new edition of this important text – a crucial western parallel source to the *Morea Chronicle's* – various versions regarding the first century of Latin domination in Greek (Helladic) lands. In fact, this new edition (but without the Greek translation) was submitted as a doctoral dissertation at Crete University (Rethymnon), under the supervision of Professor Chryssa Maltezou (who in the late 70s had contributed an article on this important source : *O Marin Sanudo πηγή δια την μελέτην δύο αγνώστων βυζαντινών γεγονότων*, in *Θησαυρίσματα*, 4 [1967], p. 20-37). Maltezou in fact prefaces this new edition, stressing its importance (pp. IX-X).

Sanudo's text, written between 1326 and 1333 and covering the period from the rule of Geoffrey II Villehardouin of the Morea Principality (1218-1245) up

to the year A.D. 1302, was known to most researchers from its older edition by the indefatigable Karl Hopf, in his *Chroniques gréco-romanes* (Berlin, 1873 ; repr. Athens, Spanos Editions, 1961), pp. 99-170 (cf. J. Karayannopulos-G. Weiss, *Quellenkunde zur Geschichte von Byzanz, 324-1453,* Wiesbaden, 1982, 466-467 no. 450 ; M. McCormick, *Sanudo Torsello, Marino, Oxford dictionary of Byzantium,* New York-Oxford, 1991, 1840 ; and U. Tucci, *Sanudo I. Marin, Lexikon des Mittelalters* VII.7, Munich-Zurich, 1995, cols 1373-1374 with refs). Hundreds of important contributions in the late nineteenth and throughout the twentieth century were based on Hopf's edition which served its purpose well ; the need of a new edition, however, was imperative.

Marin Sanudo the "Elder" (c. 1270-1343), born on the the Venetian islet of Torsello (hence his appellation), travelled extensively in the southeastern Mediterranean basin in the framework of his usually commercial missions ; his text however manifests, as repeatedly pointed out by Papadopoulou in her part I (*Ο Βενετός θεωρητικός της Σταυροφορίας Μαρίνος Σανούδος Τορσέλλο,* pp. 3-17 with useful chronology on pp. 8-15) his intention to contribute to the propagandist notion of launching a new massive Crusade against the Muslim infidel – at that time the Turkomans of the western Anatolian littoral who were threatening Aegean and Mediterranean navigation and commerce ; this notion is particularly expanded in Sanudo's other well-known work, *Secreta fidelium crucis,* originally composed in 1306-1307 and later expanded between 1312 and 1321 (cf. R. L. Wolff, *Hopf's so-called 'Fragmentum' of Marino Sanudo Torsello, Joshua Starr Memorial Volume,* New York, 1953, 1-10 ; Angelike Laiou, *Marino Sanudo Torsello, Byzantium and the Turks : the background to the anti-Turkish League of 1332-1334, Speculum* 45 [1970], 374-392 ; K. Setton, *The Papacy and the Levant,* I : *The 13th and 14th centuries,* Philadelphia, 1976, 174A, 180 n. 81 ; Elizabeth Zachariadou, *Trade and Crusade, 1300-1415,* Venice, 1983, 6, 13 and index ; N. Housley, *The Later Crusades, 1274-1580,* Oxford, 1992, 36-37).

The three main parts of this new publication are subdivided in several chapters and subchapters. The work itself is thoroughly analyzed in part II (*Ιστορία της Ρωμανίας*), while the text itself appears in part III, with a Greek translation and detailed historical notes (pp. 99-302, text 102-215). The Latin original text has not survived, while the old Italian text edited here bears the characteristic title *"History of Romania, composed by Marin Sanudo the so-called Torsello and divided in four parts – by him it was composed in Latin, but here it is translated [= into old Italian]"*. The Greek translation appears on the left pages and is ensued by the commentary section (pp. 217-302) inclusive of several genealogical trees, a bibliography of secondary works (305-316) and detailed indices. An abbreviated bibliographical section of primary sources and bibliography appears at the beginning (pp. xvii-xxvi) ; yet in spite of Papadopoulou's methodically compiled bibliographies one is rather surprised not to encounter in her references either the old synthesis by William Miller (*The Latins in the Levant,*

1908) or its modern sequel by Peter Lock (*The Franks in the Aegean*, 1995). Both these works have been translated into Greek with useful addenda (Miller's first by S. Lampros in 1909-1910 [repr. 1960] and then by A. Phouriotes in 1960 [repr. 1990 and 1997] and Lock's by G. Kousounelos in 1998) and should have been utilized here.

Some bibliographical addenda would perhaps be in place in the commentary section : pp. 243-244 (for n. 60), on the battle of Pelagonia, the relatively recent analysis by Spyros Asonites, *Πελαγονία 1259 : μια νέα θεώρηση*, in *Βυζαντιακά*, 11 (1991), 129-165 is of importance ; pp. 248-249 (for n. 72), on the Sanudi-Ghisi strife over Syros see also A. Savvides, *Notes on the history of Syros in the Middle Ages and the Turkish domination period*, in *Ekklesiastikos Pharos*, 76.2 (= new series 5.2, Alexandria-Johannesburg, 1994), pp. 125-135, esp. 129 ; p. 265 (for n. 113), for the naval battle of Demetrias, dated here in the summer of 1273, see also the article by Apostolos Papathanassiou, *Αλέξιος Φιλανθρωπινός και Ιωάννης Δούκας Παλαιολόγος. Το χρονικό της ναυμαχίας του έτους 1275 στον Κόλπο του Βόλου, μεταξύ Βυζαντινών και Φράγκων*, in *Αρχείον Θεσσαλικών Μελετών*, 8 (1988), pp. 189-207, dating the event in the spring of 1275 (cf. idem, *Η Μαγνησία και το Πήλιο στον ύστερο μεσαίωνα, 1204-1423*, Volos 1998, pp. 150 ff.) ; pp. 282-283 (for n. 156) on the Genoese corsair Giovanni dello Cavo, ruler of Rhodes between c. 1278 and c. 1282 as vassal of Michael VIII Palaiologos, see also A. Savvides, *Rhodes from the end of the Gabalas rule to the conquest by the Hospitallers, A.D. c. 1250-1309*, in *Βυζαντινός Δόμος*, 2 (1988), pp. 199-232, esp. 203, 209-210, 211-214, 216 ; and pp. 301-302 (for n. 187), on the Turkoman attacks against the Hospitallers in the latter's first years of rule in Rhodes see now A. Savvides, *Η Ρόδος και οι Μουσουλμάνοι, μέσα 7ου-αρχές 14ου αι.*, 2nd ed., Athens 1995, pp. 29-32 with notes.

A. G. C. SAVVIDES.

Sotiria TRIANTARI-MARA, *'Η ἔννοια τοῦ κάλλους στὸ Διονύσιο 'Αρεοπαγίτη. Θεωρητικὴ προσέγγιση τῆς Βυζαντινῆς τέχνης - Συμβολὴ στὴν αἰσθητικὴ φιλοσοφία*, 'Ηρόδοτος, Thessaloniki, 2002, 200 pages. ISBN 960-8256-28-3.

This monograph offers a fresh systematic interpretation of the concept of Beauty in Ps.-Dionysius Areopagita, who adopted the theological and philosophical system of his teacher Proclus. Ps.-Dionysius' aesthetic theory is based on the Proclean doctrine of participation and is inspired by the Platonic and Plotinian theory about Eros. This tradition is present in Ps.-Dionysius' Christian philosophy, which exercised a considerable influence on Byzantine aesthetics.

The book starts with an illuminating introduction (pp. 21-26) about the life and works of Ps.-Dionysius, who must have lived around 500 A.D. The author carefully examines the controversial views about the career and the authenticity

of the works of Ps.-Dionysius. Immediately afterwards follows an account of the philosophical presuppositions of the theory of Ps.-Dionysius on Beauty (pp. 27-33). This is where the reader finds a detailed description of the external and internal triadic structure of Ps.-Dionysius' philosophical work.

The first part of the book (pp. 35-145) is devoted to the distinction between intelligible and perceptible beauty in the works of Ps.-Dionysius. The first chapter (pp. 37-43) clarifies the way Ps.-Dionysius christianized the Neoplatonic doctrine of paradigm and image. This was possible through the rejection of the thesis that the world emanates from the One and the adoption of other arguments that helped him present a Christian theory about the derivation of the universe. The second chapter (pp. 45-82) is about Ps.-Dionysius' use of Proclus' theory about real beauty. Dionysius distinguishes the Beauty from the beautiful things, by establishing that God is the source of all beauty. All creatures receive beauty from God, who thus actively shows His love for them, and this is how they are characterized as beautiful things. Ps.-Dionysius argued that evil does not actually exist from the ontological point of view. Its cause is neither in the will of God nor in matter. It is rather an acquired deviation of the human free will from the will of God, in the form of weakness of individual human souls and bodies. The third chapter (pp. 83-145) is a study of Ps.-Dionysius' use of the Neoplatonic method of reduction in his theory about Beauty. Ps.-Dionysius understands that the Beauty of God is transmitted in a reducing order, typical of the celestial and ecclesiastical hierarchies, which depict a triadic structure in all its aspects. The degree each level of hierarchy participates in and knows the divine Beauty is analogous to its metaphysical union with God. Ps.-Dionysius adopts a positive view with reference to all kinds of beauty in the sensible world, as he considers them to be the gates towards the knowledge of the ultimate Beauty of God. Thus, he contributes to the formation of the ideals of Byzantine art, which accepts the possibility to depict the divine beauty in something material.

The second part of the book (pp. 147-174) is a new approach to Byzantine art through the works of Ps.-Dionysius *De caelesti hierarchia* and *De ecclesiastica hierarchia*. Influenced by Philo of Alexandria, Ps.-Dionysius understood the creative reason-principles in the divine Intellect as invisible images which substantiate all particular beings. The celestial and ecclesiastical orders are images of the divine beauty, which is revealed through a huge number of like and unlike symbols and images. Their understanding and interpretation exceeds the level of a superficial cognitive faculty. Our whole experience in this world is full of perceptions of symbols and images. Some of them are characterized by logical beauty, as they are interpreted by our reason, while others are characterized by artistic beauty, as they cause the emotion of the artist and the spectator to "see" the transcendent Beauty of the pattern, that is God and the angelic powers. The author clearly shows us that Ps.-Dionysius' theory about symbols and images is the key to the understanding of symbolism of painting and poetry. These aesthe-

tic views have inspired Byzantine iconography to transcend the level of a simple naturalistic approach.

The Epilogue (pp. 175-178) recapitulates the main conclusions of this excellent analysis of Ps.-Dionysius' aesthetics. The book ends with an English summary (pp. 179-181), an extensive relevant bibliography (pp. 183-190) and an Index of names and terms (pp. 191-193). On the whole, S. Triantari-Mara produced a scholarly, well-arranged and elegantly written work, which successfully renews the interest in the study of Byzantine aesthetics.

E. TEMPELIS

Ch. BALOGLOU, *Πληθώνεια οἰκονομικὰ μελετήματα*, Ἐλεύθερη Σκέψις, Athens, 2001, 215 pages. ISBN 960-7931-69-6.

This publication is part of the celebration of the 550th anniversary from George Gemistos Plethon's death (26th June 1452). It consists of well-documented articles, in which Ch. Baloglou has concentrated on aspects of Plethon's economical thought. All these studies have appeared in Proceedings of conferences, as well as in Greek and international journals from 1995 till 2001.

The first article (*Ἡ ἐξέλιξη τῆς ἔρευνας γιὰ τὴν μελέτη τῶν οἰκονομικῶν ἰδεῶν καὶ θεωριῶν τοῦ Γεωργίου Γεμιστοῦ Πλήθωνος*, pp. 15-22) is a tribute to the historians of Economy, who systematically dealt with Plethon's economical philosophy from the 19th century, and especially from the second decade of the 20th century, till today.

The second article (*Ὑπῆρξε ὁ Γεώργιος Γεμιστός - Πλήθων φυσιοκράτης*, pp. 23-42) is a study of the economical reform Plethon proposed, based on his own philosophical and political background. Plethon was influenced by the economical thought of the French Physiocrats. The author diligently compares the theories of Plethon and of the Physiocrats and shows the similarities and the differences between the corresponding economical structures and systems.

The third article (*Ὁ Γεώργιος Γεμιστός - Πλήθων σκαπανεὺς τῶν τεσσάρων ἀρχῶν Φορολογίας τοῦ Adam Smith*, pp. 43-78) examines Plethon's vision as to the improvement of the taxation system of the Byzantine Mistra. Plethon hoped for a social and economical reform and the implementation of a unified taxation. In this sense he adhered to the principles of equality, certainty, appropriateness and cheapness. All these are indeed the principles which are rather falsely attributed first to Adam Smith by modern scholars.

The fourth article (*Die Einteilung des Volkes in drei Stände bei Georgios Gemistos im Vergleich zu Hippodamos von Milet und den Physiokraten*, pp. 79-95) extensively analyses Plethon's proposals about the division of the human population into three genera : the workers, the assistants and the leaders. With reference to these distinctions, Plethon must have been influenced by Hippodamus the Milesian, but there is also a scope of comparison with relevant views held by the Physiocrats.

In the fifth article (*Georgios Gemistos - Plethon und Sphairos von Borysthenes. Eine vergleichende Analyse ihrer Reformvorschläge*, pp. 96-115) there is a comparative analysis of the reform proposed by Plethon and Sphaerus of Bosphorus, who was an advisor to the Spartan king Cleomenes III. Having realised the historical, political and economical differences between his own era and that of Sphaerus, Plethon seemed to have been strongly influenced by ancient Greek authors.

The sixth article (*Αἱ περὶ ἰδιοκτησίας ἀπόψεις τοῦ Γεωργίου Γεμιστοῦ Πλήθωνος καὶ ἡ θέσις των εἰς τήν 'Ιστορίαν τῶν οἰκονομικῶν ἰδεῶν*, pp. 116-139) examines Plethon's well-known theory about the reform of laws governing land ownership which aimed at the establishment of social justice. These proposals were the fruit of Plethon's era and have no relation to classical antiquity. Additionally, they should not be compared with posterior economical theories, since the latter refer to different social and economical systems. It is remarkable, however, that both Despot Theodore and Emperor Manuel were negative towards Plethon's proposals and did not attempt at realising them.

The next two articles, i.e. the seventh (*Μία σημαντικὴ πρόσφατη πληθώνεια ἔκδοση*, pp. 140-146) and the eighth (*Μία πρόσφατη ἐπανέκδοση τοῦ ἔργου τοῦ Θ. Νικολάου γιὰ τὸν Πλήθωνα*, pp. 147-152), are book reviews written by the author on works about Plethon's economical views.

The ninth article (*Οἱ κοινωνικές ἀντιλήψεις τοῦ Πλήθωνος*, pp. 153-160) is about Plethon's social theories. He proposed particular measures towards the social, political and economical reform, as well as the restructuring of the interior of the state. Plethon thought that, if these reforms were made, the state would have been perfect and the citizens really happy.

The tenth article (*Proposals for Economic Development in the Byzantium : Georgios Gemistos Plethon (1355-1452) and Bessarion (1402-1472)*, pp. 161-185) is a description of the political and economical circumstances of the Paleologian Renaissance and a comparative analysis of the proposals of Plethon and Bessarion, who aimed at the solution of problems and the revival of economy.

The eleventh article (*'Η ἐξέλιξη τῆς βιβλιογραφίας γιὰ τὸν Γεώργιο Γεμιστό - Πλήθωνα κατὰ τὰ ἔτη 1980-2000. Συμπληρώσεις καὶ διορθώσεις*, pp. 186-206) contains an exhaustive bibliographical list of the editions and translations of Plethonian works, as well as of relevant books and articles which were published between the years 1980 and 2000.

The collection of articles written by Ch. Baloglou is indeed very useful, not only because it conveniently enhances our knowledge about Plethon's economical thought, but also because it is proof that the History of Economy is a very flourishing scientific field in Greece nowadays.

E. TEMPELIS.

NOTICES BIBLIOGRAPHIQUES

M. V. ANASTOS, *Aspects of the Mind of Byzantium. Political Theory, Theology, and Ecclesiastical Relations with the See of Rome*, Aldershot, Burlington USA, Singapore et Sydney, Ashgate-Variorum, 2001, XIV + 342 pages. ISBN 0-86078-840-7.

Les huit études de ce volume couvrent, comme le signale dans le prologue S. Vryonis Jr, le très large spectre des recherches de M. V. Anastos. Certes, il s'agit de rééditions, raison pour laquelle nous évoquons rapidement leur contenu. La première, intitulée *Byzantine Political Theory : Its Classical Precedents and Legal Embodiment*, se fixe pour objectif l'analyse des constituants du pouvoir impérial à Byzance. Les concepts de base remontent à la période classique, tandis que les législations romaine et byzantine ont surtout développé l'idée de la souveraineté et de l'autorité absolue ; le christianisme y ajouta l'élément surnaturel : le choix divin. La deuxième étude, *Basil's Κατὰ Εὐνομίου : A Critical Analysis*, passe en revue les positions philosophiques et théologiques de Basile de Césarée lors des querelles trinitaires. Basile introduit une nouvelle terminologie, car celle utilisée contre Arius n'était plus valable contre Eunomius dont les idées néoplatoniciennes contestaient surtout l'unité substantielle des trois personnes trinitaires. Les idées de Basile sont en réalité celles de Grégoire de Nysse et constituent le fondement de la théologie orthodoxe. À cette étude, il faut rattacher celle qui a pour titre *Basil's Lapses into Arianism and How Athanasius Had Avoided Them*, selon laquelle Basile et Grégoire de Nysse n'avaient pas exactement les mêmes positions qu'Athanase lors de la lutte contre l'arianisme. Tous soutenaient l'égalité entre Père et Fils au sein de la Trinité, mais Basile met l'accent sur la substance des trois personnes, tandis qu'Athanase sur l'égalité d'origine. La troisième étude, *CI.1.14.4 and the Emperors' Exemption from the Laws*, signale que selon la législation de la haute époque, la validité d'une loi dépendait de la volonté impériale qui ainsi s'élevait au-dessus de la loi. Les relations entre l'empereur et les autorités ecclésiastiques font l'objet de deux études ; l'une porte le titre : *The Emperor Justin I's Role in the Restoration of Chalcedonian Doctrine, 518-519*, et l'autre : *The Papal Legates at the Council of 861 and Their Compliance with the Wishes of the Emperor Michael III*. Dans l'une,

l'A. signale que les empereurs de tendance monophysite n'ont pas appliqué les décisions du IV^e^ Concile oecuménique, ce qui a entraîné le schisme acacien. Justin I^er^ a obligé en 518 l'église byzantine à nouer des relations avec Rome, ce qui a permis l'application des décisions du concile. Dans l'autre, l'A. note que pour la convocation du concile connu sous le nom de «Premier et second», le pape Nicolas envoya ses légats dans l'idée de contrarier Photius et de soutenir Ignace. Le pape évoquait pour cela les décisions du synode de Sardique. Or, les légats ont dû accepter les décisions et signer la déposition et la condamnation d'Ignace, un véritable revers pour la politique papale, orchestré par l'empereur Michel III. Dans l'étude qui a pour titre *The Coronation of Emperor Michael IV in 1034 by Empress Zoe and Its Significance*, l'A. explique que le couronnement de l'empereur n'avait pas à Byzance de caractère constitutionnel. C'est pourquoi le couronnement de Michel IV, après l'élimination de Romain III, par Zoé et non par le patriarche, n'affecte en rien la légalité de cet empereur. La dernière et la plus longue étude, *Constantinople and Rome : A Survey of the Relations between the Byzantine and the Roman Churches*, est un survol des relations, très souvent tendues, entre les deux grands centres ecclésiastiques du Moyen âge, Constantinople et Rome. Le point de départ est le synode de Ferrare-Florence sous le pape Eugène IV et le patriarche Joseph II. L'A. analyse surtout le support idéologique de cette opposition : les légendes autour des fondateurs de deux églises, Pierre et André. Ce n'est qu'après cela qu'il étudie les décisions conciliaires qui vont tantôt en faveur tantôt en défaveur de la primauté papale.

P. YANNOPOULOS.

Ἀρχεῖον Εὐβοϊκῶν Μελετῶν, 33 (1998-2000), 254 pages. ISSN 1010-3724.

Trois articles dans ce volume concernent les études byzantines. Le premier, celui de N. GIOLES, *Ὁ χριστιανικὸς Ὠρεὸς στὴ βόρεια Εὔβοια* (p. 5-48 + 43 illustrations) est assez général ; il étudie l'histoire chrétienne de la cité d'Oreos, au nord de l'île d'Eubée, à partir des données littéraires et archéologiques. Aucune construction notable qui date d'avant le XII^e^ s. n'est conservée. Mais de nombreux éléments décoratifs et des éléments architecturaux (colonnes, chapiteaux, dalles, etc.) qui remontent au V^e^ s., ainsi que quelques inscriptions, prouvent que cette situation est due seulement aux destructions postérieures. Les bâtiments conservés sont de la période des croisés ou postérieurs à la prise de l'île par les Ottomans en 1470. Le deuxième article, dû à G. DIMITROKALLIS, *Ὁ σταυροεπίστεγος βυζαντινὸς ναὸς τῆς Ἁγίας Τρίτης Καθενῶν Εὐβοίας* (p. 49-64 + 47 illustrations) a pour objet un monument byzantin, à l'état de ruine, découvert en 1960 dans la partie centrale de l'île d'Eubée. Il s'agit d'un lieu de culte dédié à «S. Mardi», c'est-à-dire à la personnification d'un jour de la semaine, selon une veille habitude dans les régions balkaniques. L'étude très poussée, par un spécialiste en la matière tel l'A. de cet article, conduit à la conclusion qu'il s'agit d'une construction du XIV^e^ s. au plus tard. «S. Mardi» fait aussi l'objet de

l'étude de K. SCAMPAVIAS, *Εἰκονογραφικὰ τῆς Ἁγίας Τρίτης* (p. 65-69 + 3 illustrations), qui localise la plus ancienne représentation de cette personnification déjà au XI[e] s. dans la région de Mani. Une fresque sur le mur de l'église de Ste-Pasrascève (S. Vendredi) illustre les personnifications de tous les jours de la semaine entre les bras de S. Dimanche (Ste Kyriakè).

P. YANNOPOULOS

B. ATSALOS, *La terminologie du livre-manuscrit à l'époque byzantine. Première partie. Termes désignant le livre-manuscrit et l'écriture*, University Studio Press, Thessalonique, 2001 (*Ελληνικά. Περιοδικόν Σύγγραμμα Εταιρείας Μακεδονικών Σπουδών. Παράρτημα*, 21). ISBN 960-12-1004-0.

La réédition de l'ouvrage de B. Atsalos ne peut que réjouir codicologues, paléographes, et tous ceux qui travaillent sur les manuscrits grecs. Le lecteur non averti pourra en juger par le texte de quelques compte-rendus de l'édition de 1971, placé en appendice (p. 295-322); cet appendice constitue la seule nouveauté par rapport à cette édition originale, qui ne doit plus être présentée.

Le lecteur averti, lui, regrettera la décision de l'auteur de se limiter à une reproduction anastatique, sans même une mise à jour bibliographique. Cette option ne déprécie en rien la valeur conceptuelle d'un tel ouvrage; mais dans un domaine où les études ont foisonné au cours des trente dernières années, une telle mise à jour n'aurait pu que renforcer la position de cet outil-clef.

Il n'est peut-être pas inutile de rappeler ici que cet ouvrage devait constituer le premier tome d'une trilogie, dont les deux autres parties devaient respectivement concerner les termes relatifs à la confection du livre-manuscrit (instruments, matières, cahiers, copie, etc.) et aux souscriptions et notes que l'on trouve dans les manuscrits grecs. Malgré le temps qui s'est écoulé depuis la parution du premier tome, une synthèse sur les deux autres sujets fait toujours cruellement défaut aujourd'hui. Puisse la demande à laquelle répond cette réédition encourager l'auteur à produire les deux tomes encore attendus.

Véronique SOMERS.

P. BLACHAKOS, *Νικηφόρος Γρηγοράς. Φυσική Γεωγραφία και Ανθρωπογεωγραφία στο έργο του*, Thessalonique, 2003, 267 pages + 12 planches.

Nicéphore Grégoras, une figure de proue du XIV[e] s. byzantin, participait activement à la vie politique et intellectuelle de son temps. Ses connaissances profondes des écrivains grecs anciens, mais aussi de ceux de son temps, lui ont permis d'aborder des sujets très vastes, dont la Géographie, qui fait l'objet du travail de P. Blachakos dans sa thèse doctorale, présentée en Philologie à l'Université de Thessalonique. L'A. étudie successivement : i) la biographie de Grégoras à laquelle il rattache l'analyse des textes qui font l'objet de son étude (pp. 53-58), ii) la Géographie physique (pp. 89-170) et la Géographie humaine (pp. 171-221) de Grégoras, iii) les sources de Grégoras (pp. 222-232). Ses

conclusions sont assorties d'un lexique des termes par lesquels sont désignées les agglomérations dans les textes de Grégoras. Pour Grégoras, la géographie n'est qu'un paramètre de l'Histoire, notion qu'on trouve d'ailleurs à l'époque classique comme par ex. dans les textes d'Hérodote. Or, dans les écrits d'autres savants du XIV^e^ s. byzantin, tels Georges Pachymère ou Jean Cantacuzène, cette vision de la géographie est complètement absente. La vision de Grégoras, étant encore celle des classiques, lui permet d'aborder le monde sous un autre angle, raison pour laquelle il fait souvent référence à des lieux lointains et parfois mythiques, tels que Taprovane, le Caucase (qu'il place près des Pyrénées), les Alpes, l'île de Thulè, l'océan Atlantique, Kiev, les steppes russes, l'Arabie, Thèbes d'Égypte, le Mont Sinaï qu'il situe près de Troie.

Un travail soigné et utile pour toute recherche dans le domaine des connaissances géographiques des Byzantins.

Barbara KOUTAVA-DELIVORIA

J. BOMPAIRE, J. LEFORT, V. KRAVARI et Ch. GIROS, *Actes de Vatopédi*, I : *Des origines à 1329. Édition diplomatique* (= *Archives de l'Athos,* XXI) Paris, P. Lethielleux, 2001, XIX + 475 pages de textes + un Album de 88 planches. ISBN 2-283-60421-4.

Ce n'est pas à une notice de faire la réputation de cette série mondialement connue. Signalons que ce volume des archives du monastère de Vatopédi contient 68 documents diplomatiques et deux faux (un acte du prôtos Hilariôn et un chrysobule d'Andronic II Paléologue). Le document le plus ancien date du mois de mars peut-être de 959 et il est dû à Constantin, grand chartulaire du *génikon logothésion* ; le dernier date du mois de mai de 1329 et c'est un chrysobule d'Andronic II Paléologue. La majorité des actes concernent les biens qui se situaient hors de l'Athos et seulement seize actes concernent l'Athos. Quant à l'origine des documents, dix-sept émanent du Palais de Constantinople et deux de souverains bulgares. Un acte est d'origine patriarcale et trois sont épiscopaux. Douze actes ont été rédigés par des fonctionnaires byzantins, onze par les autorités athonites centrales, sept par des higoumènes ou des moines, un par les habitants du village de Kométisa et seize sont des actes privés. La présentation de la matière est celle des volumes précédents : citation du titre en français, citation du titre original, datation. Sous la rubrique «*Le texte*», sont reprises les données paléographiques, et sont mentionnées les éventuelles éditions. Sous la rubrique «*Analyse*», on trouve le contenu du texte avec référence aux autres actes supposés ou cités par le document, des notes concernant la date, les lieux mentionnés ou les personnes impliquées dans l'acte. L'édition de l'acte suit cette partie introductive.

Cela étant dit, il faut encore parler de l'introduction du volume (p. 1-54), une véritable dissertation historique sur le monastère de Vatopédi, des origines jusqu'à 1329, à commencer par les légendes relatives à son étymologie et à sa fon-

dation, aux biens du monastère, ses bâtisses et ses trésors artistiques, pour terminer avec la liste des higoumènes et une note sur les archives du monastère. Un travail magistral.

P. YANNOPOULOS

Β' Συνάντηση Βυζαντινολόγων Ελλάδος και Κύπρου. Πανεπιστήμιο Αθηνών, 24-26 Σεπτεμβρίου 1999. Εισηγήσεις - Ερευνητικά Προγράμματα. Περιλήψεις Ανακοινώσεων, Athènes, E.K.P.A., 2000, 224 pages.

Ce volume est une sélection faite parmi les communications les plus importantes présentées lors de la deuxième rencontre des byzantinistes de Grèce et de Chypre. Pour les communications jugées moins importantes, un résumé substantiel est repris dans le volume. Les articles retenus concernent trois thèmes : l'enseignement à Byzance ; la civilisation byzantine comme matière à enseigner dans le cadre du programme éducatif en Grèce ; et les programmes de recherche ayant pour objet Byzance. Le deuxième thème, malgré son importance, ne présente pas d'intérêt pour les études byzantines. Le troisième thème n'a qu'une valeur d'information. Par ex. E. Phoscolos signale que le «web» de la «Fondation Hellénique» donne plusieurs informations sur Byzance. En outre Ch. Hotzakoglou parle des études byzantines en Hongrie et A. Bassiliou énumère les sceaux byzantins dans les collections autrichiennes. Sont en outre présentés quatre programmes de recherches, à savoir sur la Cappadoce (par A. Bassiliou, K. Tsiorou et G. Foukaneli), sur les trésors monétaires du Musée Numismatique d'Athènes (par I. Tsourti), sur la topographie et la démographie du Mont Lycéon (par P. Belissariou) et sur les peintres crétois (par M. Constantoudaki-Kitromilidi).

Concernant l'enseignement à Byzance, l'article de M. MENTZOU-MEÏMARI, *Τα αγιολογικά κείμενα ως παιδευτικό μέσο των Βυζαντινών* (pp. 29-45) est sans doute le plus intéressant. Il note que, d'après les sources byzantines, les hagiographies étaient utilisées dans les écoles byzantines. Toutefois, l'A. confond souvent matière d'enseignement et lectures. A. VASSILIKOPOULOU, *Η κλασσική παιδεία στο Βυζάντιο* (pp. 47-55), ne fait que répéter la thèse bien connue selon laquelle une partie de la littérature classique était utilisée à Byzance comme matière d'enseignement, ce qui provoquait la colère de certains fanatiques qui rejetaient en bloc la culture païenne. Par contre S. TROÏANOS, *Νομική παιδεία στο Βυζάντιο* (pp. 57-61), s'engage dans un sentier moins battu : il repère des traces d'un enseignement juridique dans l'empire déjà avant «l'école de Droit» de Constantin VII, école qui au XI^e^ s. prendra la forme d'une véritable Faculté de Droit au sein de l'Université de Constantinople. L'article des S. KALOPISSI-VERTI, M. CONSTANTOUDAKI-MITROMILIDOU et M. PANAYOTIDI, *Μαρτυρίες για την εκπαίδευση των ζωγράφων στη μεσοβυζαντινή και υστεροβυζαντινή περίοδο* (pp. 63-68), ignore complètement la période antérieure au XIV^e^ s., et de ce fait, a une portée réduite, remarque qu'on peut faire aussi pour l'article de G. STATHIS,

Οι Μέθοδοι ψαλτικής τέχνης (pp. 69-73), dont la plus ancienne référence remonte à une allusion très controversée du x^e^ s. L'étude de M. PAPATHANASSIOU, *Η θέση της Αστρολογίας και της Αλχημείας στην παιδεία του Βυζαντίου* (pp. 75-84), malgré son intérêt indéniable, n'est qu'un état de la question au sujet de l'astrologie et de l'alchimie byzantines, et non pas une étude concernant l'enseignement de ces deux disciplines dans les écoles byzantines.

P. YANNOPOULOS

Byzantine Garden Culture, éd. par A. LITTLEWOOD, H. MAGUIRE et J. WOLSCHKE-BULMAHN, Washington, D. C., Dumbarton Oaks Research Library and Collection, 2002, XVII + 260 pages. ISBN 0-88402-280-3.

Les deux premiers articles de ce volume ont un caractère introductif. J. WOLSCHKE-BULMAHN, *The Study of Byzantine Gardens : Some Questions and Observations from a Garden Historian* (p. 1-11) fait un tour d'horizon des études qui ont pour objet les jardins dans le monde byzantin, et cela depuis le XIX^e^ s. A. LITTLEWOOD, *The Scholarship of Byzantine Gardens* (p. 13-21), fait à son tour état des études les plus importantes dans le domaine des jardins byzantins et met l'accent sur les sources qui permettent l'étude des jardins et des parcs à Byzance. H. MAGUIRE, *Paradise Withdrawn* (p. 23-35), signale que le paradis, mot persan, est récupéré par le christianisme pour indiquer le lieu des justes dans l'au-delà ; il est le même que le jardin où Dieu a placé Adam et Eve. Les descriptions patristiques font beaucoup penser à un genre de Champs Élysées, image remplacée après l'iconoclasme par celle de la croix ou «arbre de la vie» placée au milieu du paradis. Chez les romanciers byzantins, le terme de «paradis» sera adopté pour indiquer un jardin décoratif, afin de le distinguer d'un jardin d'horticulture. Ce dernier, dans le milieu monastique, fait l'objet de l'article d'Alice-Mary TALBOT, *Byzantine Monastic Horticulture : The Textual Evidence* (p. 37-67), pour qui la presque totalité des monastères byzantins disposaient d'un jardin pour s'approvisionner en fruits et légumes. Il se trouvait près des bâtiments monastiques, sans leur être contigu ; souvent en terrasses, il était à proximité d'un point d'eau ou d'une citerne. On y trouvait rarement des animaux ou des oiseaux, mais parfois des fleurs. Dans le cas des monastères urbains, le jardin était compris dans l'enceinte qui entourait le monastère. Le travail de jardinage était accompli par les moines. En annexe, l'A. traite le jardin métaphorique, qui exploitait le parallélisme entre monastère et paradis. Nancy ŠEVČENKO, *Wild Animals in the Byzantine Park* (p. 69-86), note que dans la capitale byzantine, le parc le plus important était le Philopation, où on trouvait, entre les arbres et les fleurs, des canaux, des ponts, quelques animaux sauvages capturés en Afrique (girafes, éléphants, lions, léopards), mais aussi des animaux de la région, tels que cervidés, ou des oiseaux exotiques, choisis pour leur beauté. La faune des parcs privés des maisons riches était presque la même. C. CONSTANTINIDES, *Byzantine Gardens and Horticulture in the Late Byzantine Period, 1204-1453 : The Secular Sources*

(p. 87-103), précise que dans les sources un κῆπος indique un jardin produisant des fruits et des légumes, un λειμών désigne une prairie, et seul le παράδεισος indique un jardin de plaisir. Dans ce dernier cas, il peut s'agir d'un parc autour d'un bâtiment public ou d'une église, comme aussi d'un parc impérial, habituellement interdit au grand public. Les enluminures et le décor floral des icônes donnent une idée de ces parcs et les *Géoponika* des informations sur les plantes, fleurs et arbres qu'on y cultivait. Mary-Lyon DOLEZAL et Maria MAVROUDI, *Theodore Hyrtakenos' Description of the Garden of St. Anna and the Ekphrasis of Gardens* (p. 105-158), exploitent un texte littéraire, celui de Théodore Hyrtakénos qui, ayant vécu à Constantinople à l'époque d'Andronic II, imagine le jardin dans lequel l'ange annonça à Ste Anne la naissance de la Ste Vierge. En combinant ces informations avec les données iconographiques et une *ekphrasis* de Théodore Méliténiote, elles aboutissent à la conception d'un jardin luxueux, plein de couleurs, de jets d'eau, de fontaines, d'oiseaux paradisiaques, d'arbres et de fleurs. Pour R. RODGERS, *Κηποποιΐα : Garden Making and Garden Culture in the Geoponika* (p. 159-175), le jardin décoratif et productif a intéressé Constantin VII, rédacteur de *Géoponika*. L'étude de ce texte permet l'établissement de la liste des arbres fruitiers connus des Byzantins, ainsi que celle des légumes et des fleurs. En outre à travers ce texte, on peut connaître les méthodes de culture de la terre, appliquées par les Byzantins. J. SCARBOROUGH, *Herbs of the Field and Herbs of the Garden in Byzantine Medicinal Pharmacy* (p. 177-188), note qu'au Moyen Age, l'alimentation de base était d'origine végétale, ce qui explique que les jardins urbains étaient rarement destinés au plaisir. Rares étaient aussi les jardins destinés aux produits de luxe, tels le vin aromatisé et les parfums. Les plantes médicinales étaient dans leur écrasante majorité sauvages ; on cultivait dans les jardins les asperges, l'opium et le mandragore. Leslie BRUBAKER, *The Vienna Dioskorides and Anicia Juliana* (p. 189-214), étudie le manuscrit le plus célèbre dans le domaine des plantes, le Dioscoride de Vienne, et cherche l'origine des illustrations qui décorent ce manuscrit. Elle constate que les plantes cultivées étaient sélectionnées pour leur valeur nutritive ou leurs propriétés pharmaceutiques. Il s'agit de deux paramètres fondamentaux qui conditionnaient la culture dans les jardins byzantins. L'article d'A. LITTLEWOOD, *Possible Future Directions* (p. 215-229), complète le volume en constatant qu'il y a encore beaucoup à faire avant de pouvoir dire que le jardin byzantin a été suffisamment étudié. Peut-être l'accent a-t-il jusqu'à présent davantage été mis sur le jardin productif, car les sources qui en parlent sont plus nombreuses et plus explicites. Par contre, nos connaissances des jardins de plaisir reposent sur les *ekphasis* des auteurs byzantins, dont le rapport avec la réalité reste à prouver.

P. YANNOPOULOS

Byzantine Law. Proceedings of the International Symposium of Jurists, Thessaloniki, 10-13 December 1998, éd. par Ch. PAPASTATHIS, Thessaloniki, Bar Association of Thessaloniki, 2001, 316 pages.

De ce volume nous laissons de côté plusieurs articles qui ont pour objet soit la survivance du droit byzantin après 1453, soit l'adaptation du droit byzantin hors des frontières de l'empire. Les autres peuvent se grouper par sections, dont la première envisage la pérennité du droit romain dans le droit byzantin, sujet de l'article de S. TROIANOS, *Römisches Recht und byzantinisches Recht* (p. 15-20). K. VAVOUSKOS, *Das Wesen der geschichtlichen Entwicklung des Rechtes im Byzanz* (p. 29-36), quant à lui, suit l'évolution du processus de la promulgation des lois byzantines, qui reste essentiellement romain jusqu'à l'époque des Macédoniens. L'étude d'H. TROJE, *Graeca leguntur revisited* (p. 21-28), s'écarte peu de la précédente, puisqu'elle met l'accent sur l'hellénisation progressive du droit romain au sein du monde byzantin. E. KARABÉLIAS, *Perception et influences du droit romain dans l'oeuvre normative de Basile de Césarée* (p. 37-70), dans un long article, repère les éléments du droit romain récupérés par Basile le Grand et constate qu'au IV^e^ s., le droit romain avait déjà cédé sa place à un droit chrétien, qui deviendra ensuite droit ecclésiastique.

La deuxième section, consacrée à l'apport de Thessalonique au droit byzantin, est introduite par J. LOKIN. *The Influence of the Bar of Thessaloniki on the Legislation of Justinian* (p. 109-116), pour qui la jurisprudence de la cour de Thessalonique a laissé des traces dans la législation justinienne, idée partagée par A. SCHMINCK, *Galerius und Thessaloniki* (p. 117-134), qui va même plus loin : avant même la fondation de Constantinople, Thessalonique jouait un rôle capital dans le domaine du droit, surtout à partir du moment où Galère l'eut choisie comme capitale et y installa une cour impériale et une équipe de juristes. Dans le sillon de cette tradition, il faut placer Constantin Harménopoulos, le grand juriste byzantin du XIV^e^ s., originaire de Thessalonique, qui fait l'objet de deux études. La première, celle de C. PITSAKIS, *Un demi-siècle d'études sur Constantin Harménopoulos : un bilan* (p. 135-164), est un état d'avancement des études consacrées à ce personnage de proue du droit byzantin. L'autre, celle de N. PASCHALIDIS, *Konstantinos Armenopoulos (1320-1385), «Nomophylax and Justice of Thessaloniki». Analysis of the Diachronicity of his Work, 1340-2000* (pp. 173-182), est de la même nature, sauf qu'elle commence par la tradition manuscrite et les scoliastes byzantins. Ch. PAPASTATHIS, *The Chionios Affair. A Case of Religious Intolerance in 14th Century Thessaloniki* (p. 201-208), étudie une affaire canonique et juridique qui a provoqué des remous à Thessalonique au XIV^e^ s. et qui concerne l'attribution des fonctions ecclésiastiques aux membres des familles importantes de la ville.

La troisième section, canonique, est représentée par deux articles. B. STOLTE, *In Search of the Origins of the Nomocanon of the Fourteen Titles* (p. 183-194), analyse la codification canonique entreprise par Photius et explique le pourquoi de la division de cette codification en 14 chapitres. L'étude d'I. KONIDARIS, *The Diffusion of the Law of the Church in the Byzantine Society* (p. 195-200), met l'accent sur l'adoption du droit canon par l'État byzantin qui rendit ainsi les décisions ecclésiastiques obligatoires pour tous les citoyens de l'empire.

Les autres articles ne peuvent pas être groupés. Ainsi, Calliope BOURDARA, *Les crimes contre l'État selon le droit byzantin* (p. 219-228), cherche dans la législation byzantine les termes sous lesquels sont désignés les crimes contre l'État. Une étude similaire de Kalliopi PAPAKONSTANTINOU, *Das Rechtsinstitut der Ausgleichungspflicht im byzantinischen Erbrecht* (p. 259-278), a pour objet le droit familial et les modalités juridiques en cas de mariage ou de succession. Un point sensible du droit familial, celui de l'adultère, est analysé par Maria YOUNI, *Adultery in Byzantine Law : Development and Survivals* (p. 279-298) ; elle pense que le droit familial romain est resté intact jusqu'au VII^e^ s. La christianisation a plutôt aggravé la situation juridique des personnes impliquées dans une affaire d'adultère. L'article intéressant de Despina TSOURKA-PAPASTATHI, *Vente d'office* (p. 229-234), envisage le droit byzantin des transactions ayant pour objet un poste de travail durant la période mésobyzantine. Le cas étudié concerne la vente d'un poste de responsable des bains publics. Seul l'article de Daphnè PAPADATOU, *«Traditional» and «Innovative» Forms of Ownership in Byzantine Agrarian Law* (p. 299-306) envisage le droit agricole ; il étudie les commentaires byzantins en la matière qui vont du VIII^e^ au XIV^e^ s. Enfin, l'étude d'Athéna DIMOPOULOU-PILIOUNI, *Les corporations d'avocats au début de l'ère byzantine* (p. 307-316), signale que l'ordre des avocats de Constantinople a été constitué en 425 ; il était organisé comme celui de Rome. Il permettait à l'État un contrôle assez strict de l'attribution de la justice.

P. YANNOPOULOS

C. N. CONSTANTINIDIS, *Ἡ Διήγησις τῆς θαυματουργοῦ εἰκόνας τῆς Θεοτόκου ἐλεούσας τοῦ Κύκκου κατὰ τὸν Ἑλληνικὸ κώδικα 2313 τοῦ Βατικανοῦ*, Nicosie, Κέντρο Μελετῶν Ἱερᾶς Μονῆς Κύκκου, 2002, XXII + 374 pages + 57 planches en couleur hors texte. ISBN 9963-645-00-3.

Ce volume constitue à la fois une édition de texte et une étude de l'iconographie mariale. Durant la période iconoclaste, ou peu après, apparaît la légende de S. Luc, peintre des portraits de la Ste Vierge. Autour de chacun de ceux-ci se développa une littérature pieuse, une *Διήγησις*. Une de ces icônes, celle qui se trouve depuis au moins le XII^e^ s. dans le monastère de Kukkou à Chypre, fait l'objet de ce livre. Le récit concernant l'icône semble avoir été rédigé en 1421/22. Il est transmis par quatre manuscrits, dont celui, inédit, de la Bibliothèque du Vatican, dont l'A. propose ici l'édition, a été copié par le moine Barnabé en 1614. Il s'agit d'une édition diplomatique ; seules les fautes d'orthographe sont corrigées. Pour donner la totalité de la littérature qui concerne cette icône, l'A. publie en édition diplomatique les versions transmises par les trois autres manuscrits connus, ainsi que l'*editio princeps*, faite en 1751 par Ephrem de Kukkou, ainsi que des textes rédigés par ce même Ephrem, en l'honneur de l'icône, après l'incendie de 1751 qui a détruit le monastère de Kukkou. Un tra-

vail exemplaire qui sans doute fera date dans le domaine des études chypriotes, mais aussi dans le domaine de l'iconologie byzantine.

P. YANNOPOULOS

Erica CRUIKSHANK DODD et alii, *The Frescoes of Mar Musa al-Habashi. A Study in Medieval Painting in Syria* (= *Studies and Texts*, 139), Toronto, Pontifical Institute of Mediaeval Studies, 2001, XXVIII + 204 pages + 82 planches hors texte. ISBN 0-88844-139-8.

L'étude des fresques du monastère de Mar Musa al Habashi (St-Moïse l'Éthiopien), situé en Syrie, à 70 km au nord de Damas, constitue l'objet de cet ouvrage. Après l'introduction ayant trait à la localisation et à l'architecture de ce monastère fondé au VI^e^ s., le volume retrace son histoire médiévale. Vient ensuite une étude détaillée des peintures réalisées au cours de deux périodes successives et rapprochées dans le temps (1054-1088 et 1192). L'importance de ces peintures réside dans le fait qu'elles constituent le seul programme pictural conservé dans l'Orient arabe et qu'elles témoignent de la continuité de la tradition byzantine en Syrie après l'occupation arabe. Ces fresques, de facture analogue aux peintures contemporaines du Liban, révèlent une convergence d'influences. Par ex. la représentation du Jugement Dernier datée de 1192, qui montre l'influence de Jérusalem et comporte certains éléments empruntés à la tradition iconographique occidentale.

L'étude principale est complétée par cinq contributions plus ponctuelles traitant notamment des 23 inscriptions syriaques et des 23 inscriptions arabes, relevées dans la chapelle du monastère. Chacune de ces inscriptions est transcrite et traduite, mais seules les inscriptions arabes sont illustrées par des photographies. Des illustrations de bonne qualité et un index rendent commode la consultation de ce livre très complet sur l'un des rares exemples de peinture chrétienne en terre musulmane.

Catherine VANDERHEYDE.

Th. DETORAKIS et B. PSEUTOGAS, *Ἁγίου Νεοφύτου τοῦ Ἐγκλείστου. Συγγράμματα*, vol. IV, Paphos, Ἱερὰ Βασιλικὴ καὶ Σταυροπηγιακὴ Μονὴ Ἁγίου Νεοφύτου, 2001, IV + 743 pages. ISBN 9963-614-08-6.

Dans ce quatrième volume des oeuvres complètes de Néophyte, sont édités trois textes herméneutiques. Il s'agit de ses Discours sur la Création du monde et de ceux sur le Psautier et les Odes, édités par Th. Detorakis de l'Université de Crète, et de son Traité sur le Cantique des Cantiques, édité par B. Pseutogas de l'Université de Thessalonique. De cette façon, le volume est divisé en trois parties bien distinctes. Dans l'introduction de la première partie, il est question des éditions précédentes des Discours sur la Création du monde rédigés en 1197, des deux manuscrits, (amputés tous les deux), qui transmettent les textes, des cor-

rections d'orthographe à apporter, de la langue de Néophyte, etc. On trouve pratiquement les mêmes remarques dans la partie introductive des Discours sur le Psautier et les Odes, rédigés peut-être avant ceux sur la Création du monde et transmis par au moins six manuscrits. Dans la longue introduction de la troisième partie, l'éditeur explique les interventions de Néophyte sur le texte biblique et essaie de déterminer l'origine du manuscrit utilisé par Néophyte pour son Traité, mais aussi ses sources et le support théologique qui lui a permis d'aborder ce texte très difficile. Suit l'étude de la transmission du texte, assurée par neuf manuscrits, et l'édition. Dans chaque cas, les textes ne sont pas traduits, ni pourvus de commentaires. Il s'agit donc d'une édition critique qui met à la disposition des chercheurs un texte solide permettant une exploitation philologique et historique.

P. YANNOPOULOS

A. FOTIC, *Mount Athos and Hilandar in the Ottoman Empire (15th-17th Centuries)* (en serbe) Belgrade, Institut Balkanique, 2000, 498 pages. ISBN 86-7179-030-4.

Cet excellent volume intéresse les études byzantines dans sa partie introductive, celle qui traite de l'histoire du monastère de Hilandar depuis sa fondation en 1198 jusqu'à l'occupation du Mont Athos par les Ottomans en 1383. Étant dès le départ occupé par des moines serbes, Hilandar a connu les mêmes difficultés que les autres monastères de la région durant la première occupation ottomane entre 1383 et 1403. Durant la vingtaine d'années précédant la seconde occupation ottomane en 1423, Hilandar a connu une période prospère, grâce à l'hégémonie serbe dans les Balkans, dont les rois ont doté le monastère d'importantes concessions. La défaite byzantine face aux Ottomans et l'approbation du nouvel ordre international accepté par le despote Andronic ont obligé les moines athonites à traiter directement avec Mourad II et à obtenir un statut privilégié pour les relations entre l'Athos et le sultan. L'A. étudie l'histoire de Hilandar après cet acte. Grâce aux actes notariaux signés dans le monastère principal et dans ses nombreuses dépendances, il donne une nouvelle image du monachisme orthodoxe et serbe en particulier durant une époque très peu connue, celle qui va du XV^e^ au XVII^e^ s.

P. YANNOPOULOS

S. HADAD, *The Oil Lamps from the Hebrew University Excavations at Bet Shean (Excavations at Bet Shean*, I = *Qedem Reports*, 4), Jérusalem, Hebrew University of Jerusalem, 2002, IX + 176 pages. ISSN 0793-4289.

La cité de Nyssa, fondée par Ptolemée II Philadelphus (308-246 avant J.-Ch.) est devenue la ville la plus importante de Palestine. Durant la période protobyzantine, elle est devenue la capitale de la *Palestina Secunda* sous le nom de

Scythopolis. Elle est prise par les Arabes en 749. Son site archéologique fait l'objet de fouilles depuis 1921. Parmi les trouvailles, il faut mentionner les quelques 2.500 lampes à huile, dont 344 sont cataloguées dans ce volume. Il s'agit d'objets en terre cuite ou en métal, de production locale ou d'importation, dont la datation reste difficile et aléatoire. Toutefois, les spécimens n° 46 et suivants sont de la période byzantine. Certains sont datables grâce aux monnaies découvertes à l'intérieur de ces objets. Les lampes qui portent comme décoration la *menorah* étaient utilisées par des Juifs, et un type similaire est considéré comme «samaritain». Celles de la période arabe (à partir du n° 356) portent généralement une décoration linéaire et parfois des inscriptions décoratives évoquant le nom d'Allah. Les quelques lampes en bronze datent de la période arabe ; les fragments des lanternes n° 528 et 529 sont de la période byzantine. L'étude de ce matériel confirme le rôle capital de cette ville dans la région. L'analyse des pièces étrangères trouvées sur place ou de celles de production locale trouvées dans les villes du Moyen Orient montrent des relations commerciales intenses durant la période proto-byzantine.

P. YANNOPOULOS

J. HALDON, *Warfare, State and Society in the Byzantine World, 565-1204* (*Warfare and History*), London, UCL Press, 1999, x + 389 pages. ISBN 1-85728-494-1 (HB) ; 1-85728-495-X (PB).

Ce livre offre une remarquable analyse des effets socio-économiques et culturels des guerres sur le territoire byzantin du VI^e^ au XIII^e^ s. Dans l'Introduction du volume, qui est composé de huit parties, l'A. décrit l'idéal de «guerre pour la paix» qui animait l'État byzantin. Les chapitres suivants relatent l'organisation et l'administration de l'armée byzantine, ainsi que les différentes stratégies et tactiques adoptées et les besoins logistiques et humains nécessaires à ses besoins, mais aussi la manière dont les institutions militaires ont évolué dans le temps. Les derniers chapitres décrivent, avec précision et en détail, les différentes campagnes et combats menés par l'armée byzantine au cours des huit siècles étudiés. Tout au long de ce livre, une attention particulière est accordée à l'influence de l'Église orthodoxe dans l'élaboration de la doctrine de «guerre pour la paix», car dans la société byzantine, l'idéal de la guerre comme telle était condamné ; la paix était exaltée et présentée comme un don céleste, raison pour laquelle toute forme de combat devait être évitée à tout prix. La seule justification de la guerre restait donc la préservation de la paix. L'A. est dans ce domaine très éclairant, car il suggère à son lecteur ce climat particulier qui animait la société byzantine.

G. KARASSAVIDIS.

Judith HERRIN, *Women in Purple. Rulers of Medieval Byzantium*, London, Weidenfeld & Nicolson, 2001, XI + 304 pages + 5 planches hors tetxe. ISBN 0-297-64334-7.

L'objectif de ce volume est l'étude des trois impératrices qui ont joué un rôle prépondérant durant la période du conflit iconoclaste : Irène l'Athénienne, épouse de Léon IV, Euphrosyne, épouse de Michel II, et Théodora, épouse de Théophile. Elles avaient un point commun : elles avaient pris le parti du culte des images, tandis que leurs époux étaient des iconoclastes. L'A., après avoir consacré l'introduction à l'impératrice byzantine et à sa place dans le palais, passe en revue, dans un premier chapitre, les institutions relatives à l'impératrice, l'organisation de l'État byzantin et le lancement de l'iconoclasme. Chacun de trois chapitres qui suivent est consacré à chacune des trois impératrices. Le schéma général reste le même : étude biographique, avec une attention particulière portée à l'origine familiale de l'impératrice et aux circonstances de son choix comme épouse impériale. À l'occasion sont énumérés les principaux événements politiques. Les conclusions, qui ne sont pas en relation directe avec le développement, résument le rôle de l'impératrice dans la société byzantine, mais aussi dans la maison impériale. Un livre très clair et très agréable à lire, mais qui n'apporte pas de nouvelles perspectives historiques. Surtout pour Euphrosyne, dont l'origine impériale reste à prouver. Par contre les références, groupées par chapitre à la fin du volume, sont difficiles à consulter. Il faut noter que la première d'entre elles se trouve à la page 51 du livre, au début du deuxième chapitre.

P. YANNOPOULOS

Humour, History and Politics in Late Antiquity and the Early Middle Ages, éd. par G. HALSALL, Cambridge, University Press, 2002, XIII + 208 pages. ISBN 0-521-81116-3.

Ce volume contient les Actes d'une section du cinquième colloque international des médiévistes, qui s'est tenu à l'Université de Leeds, en 1998. Dans l'introduction (pp. 1-21), G. HALSALL fait l'historique des études qui ont pour objet l'humour dans les sociétés médiévale ; les études byzantines constituent les parents pauvres dans ce domaine. J. HALDON, *Humour and the Everyday in Byzantium* (p. 48-71), après avoir fait lui aussi le tour d'horizon concernant les études qui traitent l'humour byzantin, note que l'humour des Byzantins n'était pas différent de celui qu'on rencontre dans les autres sociétés médiévales : il exploitait les différences culturelles, les mésententes, mais aussi le contexte social. Ce sont notamment les différences culturelles comme source de ridicule que font l'objet de la deuxième partie de ce livre. Même l'empereur Constantin le Grand a fait l'objet de sarcasmes selon M. HUMPHRIES, *The Lexicon of Abuse : Drunkenness and Political Illegitimacy in the Late Roman World* (p. 73-88), car dans un libelle anonyme au sujet de son origine, il est présenté comme ivrogne et entièrement livré à ses passions. Sans doute une oeuvre rédigée par ses adversaires et peut-être par les païens pour des raisons religieuses. G. HALSALL, *Funny Foreigners : Laughing with the Barbarians in Late Antiquity* (p. 89-113), signale qu'en général le thème du barbare stupide est commun chez les écrivains du

Bas-empire. Il évoque ainsi l'exemple de Procope, qui souligne dans son œuvre *Sur les guerres* la stupidité des Goths. Les autres articles ne concernent pas le monde byzantin.

P. YANNOPOULOS

L. G. KHROUSHKOVA, *Early Christian Monuments in the Eastern Black Sea Coast Region (4th-7th Centuries)* (en russe avec résumé en anglais), Moscou, Nauka, 2002, 500 pages + une carte hors texte. ISBN 5-02-022544-4.

Cet intéressant volume est aussi accessible aux personnes qui ne pratiquent pas le russe grâce à un long résumé en anglais (pp. 453-500). Il s'agit à la fois d'un inventaire des recherches archéologiques et d'un catalogue des monuments paléochrétiens de la région côtière à l'est de la Mer Noire et au nord-est de la ville de Trébizonde. Sont concernés : les territoires entre le Petit Caucase et le Caucase, à savoir la Colchide, la Lazie, l'Apsilie et l'Abasie des Byzantins. Une vingtaine de villes côtières, anciennes colonies grecques, et quelques autres à l'intérieur des terres, ont reçu le christianisme dès le IV^e^ s. ; un art chrétien s'y est manifesté depuis cette date. L'A. réunit les informations textuelles qui concernent la région jusqu'à l'époque de Justinien I^er^, ce qui lui permet d'étudier le système administratif des cités ainsi que leur rôle lors des guerres byzantino-perses. Ensuite, il étudie les vestiges archéologiques en insistant sur les campagne archéologiques russes dans la région. De ce fait, le livre constitue une source d'informations d'une valeur inappréciable, un véritable «cahier de fouilles». L'analyse des données permet de conclure que l'architecture monumentale locale est représentée par des grandes basiliques du type «hellénistique oriental». Par contre les constructions d'une importance moindre incorporent plusieurs éléments architecturaux et décoratifs d'origine locale.

P. YANNOPOULOS

Foteini KOLOVOU, *Michaelis Choniatae, Epistulae* (*Corpus Fontium Historiae Byzantinae*, 41), Berlin, New York, Walter de Gruyter, 2001, 150* + 396 pages + 2 planches hors texte. ISBN 3-11-017166-X.

Michel Choniate (1138-c.1222), né à Chonai en Phrygie, est devenu métropolite d'Athènes en 1182. Sa biographie étant assez connue ne fait pas l'objet d'une étude approfondie par l'A. de ce volume. Michel est l'auteur de plusieurs traités, discours, éloges, poèmes, etc. qui ne sont pas tous édités. Sa correspondance, transmise par au moins neuf manuscrits allant du XII^e^ au XVIII^e^ s., n'a jamais été éditée dans sa totalité et en un seul volume. L'A., après une brève introduction consacrée à la langue et au style de Choniate, expose ses principes d'éditions qui concernent surtout les corrections apportées. L'édition est précédée d'une traduction des lettres en allemand (p. 49*-150*). C'est ici que l'A. introduit, dans les notes, des commentaires historiques. Lors de l'édition (p. 1-

291) sont données les leçons variantes et les références bibliques. Un index des noms propres et des lieux, un autre des mots grecs, un troisième des formes grammaticales, un quatrième des mots rares, un cinquième des références à la Bible, aux auteurs antiques et aux Pères de l'Église, un sixième des destinataires des lettres et un dernier des *Inititia epistularum*, permettent au lecteur de se retrouver facilement dans ces sources historiques d'une valeur unique pour l'histoire de la région attique.

P. YANNOPOULOS

N. G. LASKARIS, *Monuments funéraires paléochrétiens (et byzantins) de Grèce*, Athènes, S. D. Basilopoulos, 2000, 719 pages, dont pp. 587-719 planches + 6 plans et cartes hors texte. ISBN 960-7731-28-X.

Cet ambitieux volume se fixe pour but d'enregistrer tous les monuments funéraires du territoire hellénique entre le IIIe et le XVe s. De ce fait, les parenthèses autour du mot *byzantins* du titre sont pour le moins surprenantes. Toutefois, si l'on entame la lecture du volume, on comprend la raison de ces parenthèses : dans la première partie, dont nous parlerons dans la suite, l'A. va pratiquement au delà de la prise de Constantinople par les Ottomans, tandis que pour le reste il se limite à la période paléochrétienne. Même ainsi, la tâche semble presque impossible. Une masse colossale d'informations sont classées en quatre sections. La première, intitulée *Topographie funéraire*, est plutôt une étude des endroits qui pouvaient servir comme lieu d'enterrement : soit dans les églises et l'espace environnant, soit dans les cimetières loin des lieux de culte. Dans la même partie, l'A. envisage une typologie des tombeaux en commençant par la disposition du tombeau et du défunt lors de l'enterrement, pour continuer avec les problèmes de la datation des tombes, le culte funéraire, les signes distinctifs entre un tombeau chrétien et un païen, l'ornementation funéraire et l'étude des squelettes. Les tombes sont ensuite classées selon la technique de construction et les matériaux utilisés. L'étude du mobilier funéraire complète cette partie. La deuxième partie vise exclusivement les martyria, qui datent sans exception de la période paléochrétienne. La troisième partie se limite aux types d'inhumations qui sont effectuées dans les catacombes. Ici aussi la période envisagée se limite à l'époque paléochrétienne. La quatrième partie est consacrée à la peinture funéraire. C'est la peinture de l'époque paléochrétienne qui intéresse presque exclusivement l'A. ; la peinture byzantine à caractère funéraire est simplement mentionnée dans une espèce d'appendice plus que sommaire (trois pages en tout).

Il est dommage que ce livre soit difficile à consulter à cause du manque d'index. Il est aussi dommage que l'origine de certaines informations ne soit pas donnée. Par ex. dans certains cas, il est dit qu'il y a des traces ou des indices ou des trouvailles isolées qui font songer à une inhumation, mais il est impossible de contrôler l'origine de cette affirmation et d'avancer dans la recherche. Malgré ces imperfections, plus que compréhensibles si l'on mesure l'ampleur du sujet,

ce livre constituera un instrument de travail incomparable pour toute étude ultérieure des tombes paléochrétiennes et byzantines.

P. YANNOPOULOS

A. MESSINA, *Le chiese rupestri del Val Demone e del Val di Mazara* (= *Istituto Siciliano di Studi Bizantini e Neoellenici, Monumenti*, 7), Palermo, Istituto Siciliano di Studi Bizantini e Neoellenici, 2001, 175 pages + 32 planches en couleur hors texte. ISSN 0393-0904.

Cet ouvrage constitue le troisième et dernier volume consacré à la publication des églises rupestres de Sicile. Ce projet, commencé en 1968, a permis de recenser 141 édifices de culte, soit complètement abandonnés, soit réutilisés à des fins agricoles. Le catalogue des églises est précédé d'une introduction formant une sorte de bilan des trois volumes. L'A. y énonce des considérations générales sur les aménagements troglodytes en Sicile et sur leur concentration, davantage marquée au sud-est de l'île. Bien que très fragmentaires, les peintures murales des églises rupestres fournissent un témoignage sur cet art qui connaît son essor à partir du XIII^e s., s'essouffle au XV^e s., mais subsiste encore au XVII^e s. Certaines fresques rappellent des modèles byzantins ; mais plutôt que d'influence byzantine, l'A. préfère parler de «neogrecità» qui, selon lui, aurait été favorisée par la politique normande visant à rechristianiser la Sicile après l'invasion arabe. L'influence grecque se manifeste surtout dans un contexte rural comme l'attestent, par exemple, six églises rupestres conservant leur iconostase en pierre.

Le catalogue est illustré par des plans et des illustrations en couleur. On regrettera le nombre très limité de renvois à ces derniers et l'absence d'une carte de la Sicile permettant de visualiser la répartition des édifices répertoriés. Signalons, en plus de l'index iconographique et topographique, l'index général renvoyant aussi aux deux volumes précédents.

Catherine VANDERHEYDE.

Hans-Christoph NOESKE, *Münzfunde aus Ägypten I. Die Münzfunde des ägyptischen Pilgerzentrums Abu Mina und die Vergleichsfunde aus den Dioecesen Aegyptus und Oriens vom 4.-8. Jh. n. Chr.* (= *Studien zu Fundmünzen der Antiken*, Band 12), Berlin, Gebr. Mann Verlag, 2000, vol. I : 291 pages ; vol. II : 747 pages ; farde de planches. ISBN 3-7861-1947-3.

Rares sont les cas où on dispose d'une étude monétaire aussi complète pour une région géographique ; pour la période byzantine, c'est même un cas unique. L'ouvrage est composé de deux volumineux fascicules et d'un dossier contenant 155 planches (cartes archéologiques, histogrammes statistiques, dessins, photographies), qui illustrent le texte et le catalogue des deux fascicules. Parmi ces fascicules, le premier est introductif au catalogue, qui couvre le second fascicule. On y trouve les trouvailles monétaires (trésors ou produits des fouilles) de la très large zone que représentait le diocèse égyptien et ensuite le diocèse d'Orient, à

commencer par les monnaies en or, puis celles en argent et enfin celles en bronze. De cette étude découlent des données très importantes concernant la circulation monétaire, mais aussi les ateliers monétaires et les routes d'approvisionnement en monnaie de la région, les centres de pèlerinage et leur rôle dans le domaine des échanges. Toutes les pièces localisées d'une manière ou d'une autre sont ensuite reprises dans le catalogue, qui donne tous les éléments conventionnels : date, atelier, légendes, contre-remarques ; par contre le poids fait couramment défaut. Un travail précieux qui donne le profil monétaire de toute une province byzantine jusqu'à la conquête arabe.

P. YANNOPOULOS

Arietta PAPACONSTANTINOU, *Le culte des saints en Égypte. Des Byzantins aux Abbassides. L'apport des inscriptions et des papyrus grecs et coptes*, Paris, CNRS Éditions, 2001, XXIV + 474 pages. ISSN 0544-7704 ; ISBN 2-271-05849-X.

Cette thèse de doctorat, soutenue en 1993 à l'Université de Strasbourg, exploite un matériel épigraphique et papyrologique pour dépister le culte des saints chrétiens en Égypte du V^e^ au VII^e^ s. Ces sources étant souvent païennes, elles donnent une vision du culte des saints égyptiens différente de celle que procurent les textes hagiographiques chrétiens. En outre, elles fournissent des informations concernant les pratiques, inconnues par ailleurs, de cultes d'une envergure locale, que les auteurs chrétiens dissimulent volontairement à cause de leur origine païenne (malédictions, oracles, superstitions, prières magiques, etc.). L'A., après un état de la question, donne une présentation systématique de ses sources et explique dans quelle mesure elles sont en relation avec les sources traditionnelles, à savoir les calendriers, les hagiographies et les sources narratives : les chroniques, les registres ecclésiastiques ou les textes historiques. Puis, dans une première partie sont enregistrés, dans l'ordre de l'alphabet copte, les saint(e)s dont les sources font état ; une bibliographie complète chaque notice. La seconde partie, intitulée «Commentaire», est en réalité une étude approfondie des données récoltées grâce aux sources, au sujet de saint(e)s, de lieux de culte et de formes de culte attestées. La dernière partie, intitulée «Annexes», est plutôt une série d'index, très utiles et très bien conçus, qui permettent de retrouver facilement une information ou l'origine d'une information.
Un ouvrage remarquable qui contient une grande masse d'informations pratiquement inconnues jusqu'à présent.

P. YANNOPOULOS

G. PAPAGIANNIS, *Theodoros Prodromos. Jambische und hexametrische Tetrasticha auf die Haupterzählungen des Alten und des Neuen Testaments*, Teil 1 : *Einleitung* (= *Meletemata*, 7,1), Teil 2 : *Text und Indices* (=

Meletemata, 7,2), Wiesbaden, Beerenverlag, 1997, Teil 1 : XXIII + 222 pages ; Teil 2 : XV + 407 pages. ISSN 0179-5120 ; ISBN 3-929198-15-0

Cette publication est issue d'une thèse de doctorat (Hambourg, 1995) à peine révisée (elle aurait pu être abrégée, surtout dans l'Introduction). La collection d'épigrammes sacrées (ce terme conventionnel a été forgé par A. Kominis ; les manuscrits parlent de «tétrastiches») comprend la transcription, en 293 paires de vers (dodécasyllabes et hexamètres dactyliques), des épisodes capitaux de l'Ancien Testament, des Évangiles et des Actes des Apôtres. Le grand nombre de manuscrits atteste la popularité de la collection dans l'enseignement sous la turcocratie. Le texte n'était disponible que dans le vol. 133 de la *PG*, qui reprenait l'*editio princeps* (Bâle, 1536). L'A. nous offre une nouvelle édition en deux volumes. Le premier est consacré essentiellement à une présentation scrupuleuse de la tradition manuscrite (p. 14-163), à laquelle est ajoutée une analyse formelle de la versification (p. 164-187), intéressante pour l'histoire de la métrique byzantine. Le second volume présente le texte lui-même, muni d'un apparat critique détaillé et d'un inventaire de lieux parallèles remarquablement riche. Trois index complètent ce travail philologique qui prépare la voie, espérons-le, à une étude littéraire et stylistique de l'oeuvre prodromique.

K. DEMOEN.

Ch. G. PATRINELIS et D. Z. SOFIANOS, *Μανουήλ Χρυσολωρᾶ. Λόγος πρὸς τὸν αὐτοκράτορα Μανουὴλ Β' Παλαιολόγο*, Athènes, Ἀκαδημία Ἀθηνῶν, 2001, 135 pages + 16 planches hors texte. ISBN 960-404-000-6.

Édition d'un texte de Jean Chrysoloras, savant byzantin devenu célèbre diplomate et enseignant en Italie à la fin du XIII[e]-début du XIV[e] s. Ce texte est une réponse de Chrysoloras à l'empereur Manuel II Paléologue, qui avait rédigé un Éloge posthume de son frère Théodore, despote de Mystras. Manuel, avant de prononcer son Éloge, l'a envoyé à trois lettrés, dont Chrysoloras, en leur demandant d'améliorer le texte. Chrysoloras a rédigé sa réponse, qui est un traité sur la rhétorique (objet de l'édition) vers 1414. Le texte est transmis par un seul manuscrit des Météores (*Metamorphoseos*, 145, dont le premier feuillet manque), qui est un autographe de Chrysoloras. Le texte, sa valeur littéraire mise à part, donne des informations historiques qui permettent la révision de certaines dates proposées jusqu'à présent pour le règne de Manuel II.

P. YANNOPOULOS

Pseudo-Nonniani in IV Orationes Gregorii Nazianzeni Commentarii. Versio iberica, edita a Thamar OTKHMEZOURI, Brepols Publishers University Press, Turnhout-Leuven, 2002 (*Corpus christianorum. Series Graeca,* 50. *Corpus Nazianzenum,* 16). ISBN 2-503-40501-0 (HB – relié); 2-503-40000-0 (série).

Le *Corpus Nazianzenum, versio iberica* s'enrichit d'une nouvelle unité. Il s'agit de la traduction géorgienne (accompagnée d'une traduction anglaise) des commentaires ou explications des Histoires mythologiques qui parsèment quatre *Discours* de Grégoire de Nazianze: les *Or.* 4, 5, 39 et 43. Le texte grec de ces commentaires faussement attribués à Nonnos de Panopolis a été publié il y a quelques années dans le même Corpus Nazianzenum (*Pseudo-Nonniani in IV Orationes Gregorii Nazianzeni Commentarii*, ed. a J. NIMMO SMITH, Brepols Publishers University Press, Turnhout-Leuven, 1992 [*Corpus christianorum. Series Graeca*, 27. *Corpus Nazianzenum*, 2]). C'est bien sûr cette version grecque qui intéresse prioritairement le byzantiniste. La version géorgienne illustre la réception de ce type de commentaires dans la sphère d'influence non hellénophone, et présente un intérêt philologique certain, détaillé dans l'Introduction par l'éditrice.

Véronique SOMERS.

Andreas SCHMIDT-COLINET, Annemarie STAUFFER et K. AL-AS'AD, *Die Textilien aus Palmyra. Neue und alte Funde* (*Deutsches Archäologisches Institut Orient - Abteilung. Damaszener Forschungen*, 8), Mainz am Rhein, Verlag Philipp von Zabern, 2000, XI + 201 pages + 104 planches en noir et blanc hors texte + 8 planches en couleur hors texte. ISBN 3-8053-2592-4.

Cet excellent livre (il contient des études et des analyses très poussées sur les techniques, les colorations, les décorations et même la composition chimique des tissus anciens), n'intéresse pratiquement pas les études byzantines, car les tissus de fabrication locale sont plus anciens que le III^e^ s. après J.-Chr. Seule la partie qui concerne les tissus chinois va jusqu'au X^e^ s., mais ces tissus n'intéressent aucunement l'histoire byzantine

P. YANNOPOULOS.

E. Marianne STERN, *Roman, Byzantine and Early Medieval Glass. 10 BCE - 700 CE. Ernesto Wolf Collection*, Ostfildern-Ruit, Hatje Cantz Publishers, 2001, 427 pages ; illustré. ISBN 3-7757-9042-X ; éd. allemande 3-7757-9041-1.

La collection de E. Wolf est composée de 230 objets en verre, dont certains sont présentés comme étant byzantins. Ce volume constitue le catalogue de cette collection qui, à titre posthume, sera offerte au Würtembergisches Landesmuseum de Stuttgart. Dans l'introduction du volume sont expliqués les principes de l'édition et l'organisation des chapitres. Suit un très utile glossaire auquel l'A. fait appel pour décrire la forme, la destination, la matière, la coloration, la décoration, l'état, etc. de chaque objet. Le troisième chapitre du volume (p. 259 ss), intitulé *The Early Byzantine Empire*, est celui qui intéresse les byzantinistes. Dans la partie introductive du chapitre, il est dit que jusqu'au V^e^ s. les verriers ont continué dans la même ligne que leurs prédécesseurs romains. Or,

tous ces objets étant d'origine égyptienne, palestinienne et syrienne, peuvent difficilement être qualifiés de «byzantins». Le petit nombre de vases qui semblent avoir été fabriqués à partir du VI^e s. (n° 184-187), proviennent tous de la Palestine et au moins deux sont d'origine juive. L'objet n° 201, le seul daté du VII^e s., est plutôt arabe que byzantin. Les mêmes remarques peuvent être faites au sujet des vases miniaturisés (n° 209-210) et des amulettes-pendentifs (n° 211-215), objets d'origine exclusivement syro-palestinienne, fabriqués au IV^e ou au V^e s. Seul le curieux objet n° 229, que le catalogue qualifie de *glass coin weigth*, est constantinopolitain et date du milieu du VI^e s. Donc, la production verrière byzantine est en réalité très peu représentée. Nous signalons au passage les photographies exemplaires de P. Frankestein et H. Zwietasch ainsi que les dessins de Sylvia Fünfschilling.

P. YANNOPOULOS

R. THIEL et Ch. LOHR, *Ammonius Hermeae. Commentaria in quinque voces Porphyrii. Übersetzt von Pomponius Gauricus. In Aristotelis categorias. Übersetzt von Ioannes Baptista Rasarius* (*Commentaria in Aristotelem Graeca. Versiones latinae*, 9), Stuttgart, Frommann-Holzboog, 2002, XXI + 20 pages + 70-204 colonnes. ISBN 3-7728-1229-5.

La seule relation de ce livre avec les études byzantines consiste dans le fait qu'Ammonius, philosophe néoplatonicien, fils de Hermeias, est né à Alexandrie, au milieu du V^e s. après J.-Chr. Il appartenait au cercle des philosophes païens tels que Proclus, Damascius, Simplicius et Zacharias. Ammonius a à son actif des traités philosophiques, mais surtout des commentaires. Parmi ces derniers, les commentaires sur l'*Introduction* de Porphyre et les commentaires sur l'*Organon* d'Aristote ont été traduits en latin ; ces traductions ont été publiées au XV^e s. Les reproductions de ces éditions présentent certainement un intérêt esthétique, mais du point de vue scientifique elles sont de moindre importance. L'introduction du volume (p. v-xxi), consacrée à la biographie et aux oeuvres d'Ammonius, assortie d'une bibliographie, présente une allure encyclopédique, sans nouveauté scientifique.

P. YANNOPOULOS

R. P. VAGGIONE, *Eunomius of Cyzicus and the Nicene Revolution* (*Oxford Early Christian Studies*), Oxford, University Press, 2000, XXV + 425 pages. ISBN 0-19-814678-7.

Cappadocien de naissance, Eunome fut ordonné évêque de Cyzique (sur la Propontide) vers 360. Il prêcha aussitôt un arianisme intransigeant, qui provoqua de vives protestations et entraîna son éloignement. Pour lui, Dieu est simple et unique et échappe à toute division ou même distinction, ce qui l'amène à nier la divinité du Christ. Treize ans après avoir édité et traduit ce qui reste de son œuvre

écrite (*Eunomius, The Extant Works*, Oxford, 1987), R.P. Vaggione dresse son portrait intellectuel à travers le récit de sa «carrière» ecclésiastique. Il défend la thèse que «les formules (dogmatiques) sont moins importantes que les critères qui ont amené à les choisir, puisque les premières peuvent changer, alors que les seconds ne changent jamais. C'est donc la base cachée de la sélection et de l'interprétation qu'il faut expliquer, car c'est elle qui est le véritable centre d'allégeance affective et c'est pour elle que certains étaient prêts à mourir» (p. 99). Selon l'A., l'opposition entre la foi de Nicée et l'anoméisme (ou les autres formes d'opposition à Nicée) dépasse donc de beaucoup les seules questions christologiques : elle résulte d'une vision différente de la sphère religieuse dans son ensemble. La lecture de l'ouvrage est stimulante, et l'abondance des notes de bas de pages témoigne, si besoin était, du sérieux de la recherche de l'A. On trouvera, dans l'Appendix, un relevé des passages scripturaires à partir desquels les non-Nicéens argumentaient le plus volontiers (p. 393-395, avec la référence des œuvres où ces passages sont cités).

J.-M. AUWERS.

OUVRAGES REÇUS PAR LA RÉDACTION DU 1 JANVIER AU 30 JUIN 2003

Ces ouvrages font ou feront l'objet soit d'un compte rendu, soit d'une chronique, soit encore d'une notice.

U. Abel et Vera Moore, *Icons*, Stockholm, Nationalmuseum, 2002, 218 pages. ISBN 91-7100-655-9.

Ἀκαδημία Ἀθηνῶν. Λεξικογραφικὸν Δελτίον. Το Πρόγραμμα ΑΜΗΤΟΣ, 23 (2001), 441 pages.

Ἀκαδημία Ἀθηνῶν. Ἐπετηρὶς τοῦ Κέντρου Ἐρεύνης τῆς Ἱστορίας τοῦ Ἑλληνικοῦ Δικαίου, 36 (2002), 376 pages.

A. Arjava cfr. J. Frösén.

Αριστοτέλειο Πανεπιστήμιο Θεσσαλονίκης. Επιστημονική Επετηρίδα της Φιλοσοφικής Σχολής. Περίοδος Β' Τεύχος Φιλολογίας, 8 (1999), 207 pages; 9 (2000-2001), 171 pages.

Ch. Baloglou, *The Economic Thought of Ibn Khaldoun and Georgios Gemistos Plethon: Some Comparative Parallels and Links*, extrait de *Medioevo greco*, 2 (2002), pp. 1-20.

F. Baratte, J. Lang, Susan La Niece, Catherine Metzger, *Le trésor de Carthage: Contribution à l'étude de l'orfèvrerie de l'Antiquité tardive*, Paris, CNRS Éditions, 2002, 118 pages. ISBN 2-271-06009-5.

Ch. Barber, *Figure and Likeness. On the Limits of Representation in Byzantine Iconoclasm*, Princeton et Oxford, Princeton Universty Press, 2002, 207 pages. ISBN 0-691-09177-3.

C. Baroutas, *Το πρόβλημα της ελευθερίας στη βυζαντινή τέχνη*, Athènes, Σαββάλας, 2002, 304 pages. ISBN 960-460-811-8.

W. Brandes, *Finanzverwaltung in Krisenzeiten. Untersuchungen zur byzantinischen Administration im 6.-9. Jahrhundert* (*Forschungen zur byzantinischen Rechtsgeschichte*, 25), Frankfurt am Main, Löwenklau-Gesellschaft, 2002, xiv +775 pages. ISBN 3-923615-20-5.

B. Bydén, *Theodore Metochites'* Stoicheiosis Astronomike *and the Study of Natural Philosophy and Mathematics in Early Palaiologan Byzantium* (*Studia Graeca et Latina Gothoburgensia*, 66), Göteborg, Acta Universitatis Gothoburgensis, 2003, xi + 547 pages. ISBN 91-7346-459-7.

B. BYDÉN, cfr. Karin HULT.

Byzantine Philosophy and its Ancient Sources, éd. par Katerina IERODIAKONOU, Oxfrod, University Press, 2002, VII + 309 pages. ISBN 0-19-924613-0.

Byzantino-Sicula IV. Atti del I Congresso Internationale di Archeologia della Sicilia Bizantina éd. par Rosa Maria CARRA BONACASA (*Istituto Siciliano di Studi Bizantini et Neoellenici. Quaderni*, 15), Palermo, 2002, 766 pages. ISSN 0075-1545.

P. CESARETTI, *Théodora. Impératrice de Byzance*, trad. française par P. LAROCHE, Paris, Payot, 2003, 434 pages. ISBN 2-228-89757-4.

Isabelle CERVELLIN-CHEVALIER, cfr A. CHATZISAVAS.

A. CHATZISAVAS et Isabelle CERVELLIN-CHEVALIER, *Une histoire du doux pays de Chypre. Traduction du manuscrit de Venise de Léontios Machairas*, Nancy, Éditions Praxandre, 2002, 326 pages. ISBN 2-910407-17-9.

J.-C. CHEYNET, *Sceaux de la collection Zacos (Bibliothèque nationale de France) se rapportant aux provinces orientales de l'Empire byzantin*, Paris, Chez l'Auteur, 2001, 103 pages. ISBN 2-9517158-9-7.

IDEM, *Le culte de Saint Théodore chez les officiers de l'armée d'Orient*, extrait de *Mélanges N. Oiconomidès*, Athènes, 2003, pp. 137-153.

IDEM, *Basil II and Asia Minor*, extrait de *Byzantium in the Year 1000*, Leiden-Boston, Brill, 2003, pp. 71-108.

Colocviul International: Patrimoniul Cultural National. Strategia conservarii - O strategie a intergrarii în circuitul valorilor europene, Bucareste, Univers Enciclopedic, 2000, 182 pages. ISBN 973-8240-04-2.

N. COUREAS, *The Assizes of the Lusignan Kingdom of Cyprus* (*Cyprus Research Centre. Texts and Studies in the History of Cyprus*, 42), Nicosia, Cyprus Research Centre, 2002, 408 pages. ISBN 9963-0-8074-X.

Th. DETORAKIS, *Βυζαντινὴ φιλολογία. Τὰ πρόσωπα καὶ τὰ κείμενα*, vol. II, Héraclion, chez l'Auteur, 2003, 603 pages. ISBN 960-90199-6-X.

Dumbarton Oaks Papers, 56 (2002), 324 pages.

Ἐκκλησιαστικὸς Φάρος, 84 (2002), 315 pages. ISSN 1018-9556.

Ἐκκλησίες στὴν Ἑλλάδα μετὰ τὴν ἅλωση, vol. VI, Athènes, Ἐθνικὸ Μετσόβιο Πολυτεχνεῖο. Σπουδαστήριο Ἱστορίας τῆς Ἀρχιτεκτονικῆς, 2002, 293 pages. ISBN 960-254-608-5.

Erytheia. Revista de Estudios Bizantinos y Neogriegos, 23 (2002), 436 pages. ISSN 0213-1986.

Études Coptes, 8 = *Cahiers de la Bibliothèque Copte*, 13, éd. par C. CANNUYER, Lille et Paris, Association Francophone de Coptologie, 2003, XXII + 318 pages.

S. FRANKLIN, *Byzantium-Rus-Russia. Studies in the Translation of Christian Culture*, Aldershot, Ashgate. Variorum, 2002, sans pagination continue, ISBN 0-86078-890-3.

J. FRÖSÉN, A. ARJAVA et M. LEHTINEN, *The Petra Papyri*, I, Amman, American Center of Oriental Research Publication, 2002, XX + 144 pages+ 26 planches hors texte. ISBN 090-956543.

Giorgos Seferis. 100 años de su nacimiento éd. par Isabel GARCÍA GÁLVEZ, Granada, Centro de Estudios Bizantinos, Neogriegos y Chipriotas, 2002, 197 pages. ISBN 84-95905-01-9.

Grecia y la tradición clásica, vol. I-II, éd. par Isabel GARCÍA GÁLVEZ, La Laguna, Servicio de Publicaciones Universidad de La Laguna, 2002, 886 pages. ISBN 84-7756-531-7.

K. HAJDÚ, *Katalog der griechischen Handschriften der Bayerischen Staatsbibliothek München*. Band 10,1 : *Die Sammlung griechischer Handschriften in der Münchener Hofbibliothek bis zum Jahr 1803*, Wiesbaden, Harrassowitz, 2002, 176 pages. ISBN 3-447-04522-1.

Anthea HARRIS, *Byzantium, Britain and the West. The Archaeology of Cultural Identity AD 400-650*, Stroud et Charleston, Tempus, 224 pages. ISBN 0-7524-2539-0.

Karin HULT et B. BYDÉN, *Theodore Metochites on Ancient Authors and Philosophy*. Semeioseis gnomikai *1-26 and 71* (*Studia Graeca et Latina Gothoburgensia*, 65), Göteborg, Acta Universitatis Gothoburgensis, 2002, XLIV + 360 pages. ISBN 91-7346-434-1.

A. KARPOZILOS, *Βυζαντινοὶ ἱστορικοὶ καὶ χρονογράφοι*, vol. II : *(8ος-10ος αἰ.)*, Athènes, Κανάκης, 2002, 653 pages. ISBN: 960-7420-78-0 (set: 960-7420-30-6).

Κέντρο Νεοελληνικών Ερευνών Εθνικού Ιδρύματος Ερευνών. Ενημερωτικό Δελτίο, 27 (2002), 131 pages.

Barbara KOUTAVA-DELIVORIA, *Ἡ ἀντίληψη γιὰ τοὺς Ἑβραίους καὶ ἄλλους ἀλλοεθνεῖς καὶ ἀλλοθρήσκους στὸν δημώδη βυζαντινὸ λόγο*, extrait d' *Ἀνοχὴ καὶ καταστολὴ στοὺς Μέσους Χρόνους*, Athènes 2002, pp. 119-140.

Lancia, 4 (2000-2001), 235 pages. ISSN 1137-8034.

J. LANG, cfr. F. BARATTE.

Susan LA NIECE, cfr. F. BARATTE.

J.-C. LARCHET, *Saint Maxime le Confesseur (580-662)*, Paris, Cerf, 2003, 288 pages. ISBN 2-204-07156-0.

M. LEHTINEN, cfr. J. FRÖSÉN.

Literacy, Education and Manuscript Transmission in Byzantium and Beyond éd. par Catherine HOLMES et Judith WARING (*The Medieval Mediterranean Peoples, Economies and Cultures, 400-1500,* 42), Leiden, Boston, Köln, Brill, 2002, XIII + 268 pages. ISBN 90-04-12096-3.

Mésogeios - Méditerranée, 15 : *Architecture, politique et société en Algérie. L'Univers musical constantinois. Littérature et art cinématographique en Égypte. Afghanistan, une histoire millénaire*, Paris, Hérodotos, 2002, 158 pages. ISBN 2-911859-15-4.

Mésogeios - Méditerranée 16, éd. par Ioanna Vovou : *Les médias en Grèce*, Paris, Hérodotos, 2002, 204 pages. ISBN 2-911859-16-2.

Mésogeios - Méditerranée, 17-18: *Aspects de la Grèce et de la Turquie*, Paris, Hérodotos, 2002, 234 pages. ISBN 2-911859-17-0.

Catherine Metzger, cfr. F. Baratte.

Mgr Petit, Assomptionniste, Fondateur des «Échos d'Orient», Archevêque latin d'Athènes (1868-1927). Actes du Colloque de Rome, 15-17 décembre 1997 (= *Orientalia Christiana Analecta*, 266), éd. par B. Holzer, Roma, Pontificio Istituto Orientale, 2002, 229 pages. ISBN 88-7210-337-1.

Migrations et Diasporas méditerranéennes (x^e-xvi^e siècles) éd. par M. Balard et A. Ducellier, Paris, Publications de la Sorbonne, 2002, 529 pages. ISBN 2-85944-448-3.

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TABLE DES MATIÈRES DU TOME LXXIII

Articles

D. F. Buck, *Socrates Scolasticus on Julian the Apostate* 301
St. Caruso, Crucisque signo munitus. *Luca da Dèmena e l'epopea antisaracena italo greca* 319
Nina Chichinadze, *Passion Triptych from Ushguli (Georgia)* 339
A. Coşkun, *Zur Verwaltungsspitze im Illyricum während der mailänder Periode Kaiser Valentinians II. (A. 383-387)* 360
Marie-Gabrielle Guérard, *Procope de Gaza*, Épitomé sur le Cantique des Cantiques : *Les trois plus anciennes témoins*, Paris. Gr. *153, 154, 172* 9
Leslie S. B. MacCoull, *Philoponus' Letter to Justinian* (CPG *7264*) ... 390
G. C. Maniatis, *Pricing of the Factors of Production in the Byzantine Economy* 60
G. C. Maniatis, *Price Formation in the Byzantine Economy: Tenth to Fifteenth Centuries* 401
M. Meulder, *Qui est le roi Mérops cité dans la Συλλογὴ Τακτικῶν* ? .. 445
M. Meyer, *Did the Daughters of Israel Come Out Dancing and Singing to Meet ... David ? A Biblical Image in Christian-Macedonian Imperial Attire* 467
C. Morss, *Byzantine Letters in Stone* 488
A. Savvides, *Soleyman Shah of Rûm, Byzantium Cilician Armenia and Georgio (A. D. 1197-1204)* 96
A. F. Stone, *The Oration by Eustathios of Thessaloniki for Agnes of France : A Snapshot of Political Tension between Byzantium and the West* 112
P. M. Strässle, *Militärstrategische Schlüsselpassage im byzantinischen Griechenland - Die Thermopylen* 127
Anne Thion, *Nicolas Eudaimonoioannes, Réviseur de l'Almageste ?* ... 151
Th. Thomov, *Was Boris Kalamanovič Buried in the Church of St. Plato at Constantinople ?* 510
Sotiria Triantari-Mara, *Der Phantasia-Begriff bei Nikephoros Gregoras* 162
Anastasia Vakaloudi, *Illnesses, Curative Methods and Supernatural Forces in the Early Byzantine Empire (4th - 7th C. A.D.)* 172
Susan Wessel, *The* Nouthesia *and the Law of Moses* 530

Document

T. DAWSON, *Concerning an Unrecognised Tunic from Eastern Anatolia* . 201

Mémoire

Anne-Laurence CAUDANO, *Le calcul de l'éclipse de soleil du 15 avril 1409 à Constantinople par Jean Chortasmenos* 211

Note

Ph. BRUGGISSER, *L'Archange Michel et le fondateur de Constantinople : Miracle ou mirage ?* 570
P. NICOLOPOULOS, *L'ἐξήγησις de l'Iliade de Sophrone Patriarche d'Alexandrie (841-860)* 246

Bibliographie

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H. A. POHLSANDER, *Recent Work on the Emperor Heraclius* 547
P. YANNOPOULOS, *La littérature méso-byzantine* 559

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A. ARGYRIOU, c. r. de Catherine OTTEN-FROUX, *Une enquête à Chypre au XV^e^ siècle.* Le sindicamentum *de Napoleone Lomellini, capitaine génois de Famagouste (1459)* (*Sources et Études de l'Histoire de Chypre*, 36), Nicosie, Centre de Recherche Scientifique, 2000, 310 pages . 250
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